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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE INDIAN IN GUATEMALAN SOCIETY

by



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The undersigned certify that they have read, and
recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance,
a thesis entitled "The Indian in Guatemalan Society"
submitted by Barbara J. Spronk in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.



ABSTRACT

The Indian is fully incorporated into Guatemalan society. In terms of the national and international economic systems, Indian labor has been a primary factor in the production of the export crops basic to the Guatemalan economy. Until the Social Revolution of 1944-1954, various forms of forced labor legislation were necessary to ensure an adequate supply of cheap labor, but increasing population pressure on the land in the predominantly Indian highlands is now sufficient to maintain a reserve of migratory seasonal labor for the coastal plantations. The Indian is also incorporated into the national and international economic systems by means of his participation in local and regional markets. Politically, the Guatemalan Indian is, in general, passive but nonetheless integrated into the national society by means of the political structure of his community, a structure imposed by the Spanish as a mechanism of control which still survives in many municipios. This integration of the Indians' community into the national political structure became especially evident in the sometimes drastic effects of political changes imposed on highland communities during the Social Revolution. However, the models and approaches anthropologists have proposed for Guatemalan society--dichotomies, linear typologies, the plural society, power networks--have not dealt adequately with this economic and political integration. Dialectical class analysis appears to do more justice to this integration, and offers some clarification of the nature of the Indian's position in the

national and international socioeconomic systems. Anthropological description has also suffered from a failure to fully recognize the integration of the Indian and his community into the wider society. The highland fiesta complex, for example, has frequently been considered an adaptive mechanism for the conquered, to the neglect of its function as an instrument of the conqueror. The Indian has adopted the fiesta system as his own and turned his interest inward, focussing his attention on the affairs of the Indians of his community; this localism, however, has proved advantageous to non-Indians in several ways. Finally, anthropological approaches to social change in Guatemala have also neglected the Indian's integration into the national and international social systems. In this context a focus on the community is too narrow: development at the community level is restricted by conditions in the nation, which in turn are largely due to restrictions imposed on national development by the nation's status as a satellite in the international capitalist system. Anthropologists' traditional culturalistic perspective is also inadequate. By treating all the changes the Guatemalan Indian is experiencing as part of a process of "Ladinization", anthropologists have obscured the nature of such processes as proletarianization and growth of class consciousness.

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Before writing this thesis, I was fortunate in being able to spend two months in Guatemala during the summer of 1969. Although I undertook no formal field work there, the experience was nonetheless valuable for my subsequent research. First, it allowed me firsthand glimpses of community life in many municipios, previously known to me only from monographs. Secondly, as a paying guest of a middle-class family in Guatemala City, I was accorded a particularly intimate glimpse into the problems of people who are caught between the very wealthy and the very poor, with no real hope of rising as high as the former and a great fear of sinking to the level of the latter. Thirdly, I learned a great deal from more formal contacts with both North American and Guatemalan academics who made their extensive knowledge of Guatemala available to me in classes and discussions. In this regard I am particularly indebted to Dr. Warren Beck, Chairman of the Department of History at California State College, Fullerton; Sr. Don Fernando Cruz, Instructor in Sociology at the University of San Carlos in Guatemala City; and Dr. Epimondas Quintana, Director of the Instituto Indigenista Nacional in Guatemala. I am also grateful to Sr. Don Alfonso Bauer Paiz of the Faculty of Law at San Carlos for providing valuable information on the Mendez Montenegro government.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Officially 1967 was designated as "the year of the peace" in Guatemala, but in the Gualán area no one fishes any more. Too many corpses have been caught in the weirs. The armed bands of the extreme Right operate with impunity and efficiency, protected by the army and police. On the Left, the guerrillas organize in the mountains and even in the cities.... Eduardo Galeano lived with the guerrillas in the mountains, and his picture of the thinking and daily life is authoritative.... He describes the Indian population, on whose aching shoulders the economy of Guatemala rests, and shows what has happened to the rich Mayan culture. He portrays living conditions in a country where average per capita income is only four percent that of the U.S., and where three-fourths of the people live on less than twenty cents a day....

These dramatic words are taken from the jacket of Galeano's Guatemala: Occupied Country (1968). As part of a publisher's blurb, they can be dismissed as mere commercial sensationalism. Nevertheless, the objective reality of the situation these words portray remains. In the language of statistics, life for the Guatemalan Indian appears exceedingly bleak. His average life expectancy at birth is 38 years, compared with 49 years for the Ladino or non-Indian. Of the total population, only 37.9 percent are literate; few of these are Indians (compare the average literacy rates for Middle America and North America, 61.2 percent and 97.1 percent, respectively). Again for the total population, average per capita per annum income is 151 quetzales (\$151 U.S.). However, for the upper class, which includes few, if any, Indians, the average income is Q2917; for the middle class, which also

includes few Indians, the average income is Q580.6; for the peasants and workers, the bulk of whom are Indians, average income sinks to Q87.7. Most Indians are peasants, dependent on land for their subsistence. However, land distribution in Guatemala is extremely uneven: 80 percent of the farm units cover only 10 percent of the total cultivatable areas; 22 fincas (belonging to three owners) account for 13 percent of the total cultivated area.*

As for violence, the guerrilla activity which surrounded the recent presidential election (March 3, 1970) was the focus of much attention in the news media. But according to such a source as Time magazine (March 9, 1970:37) (one not likely to be accused of any "left-wing" bias), "Not all the violence came from the left." Time (March 9, 1970:37) identifies Colonel Carlos Arana Osorio, victor in the presidential contest, as commander of the Zacapa Brigade, which "virtually wiped out one of Latin America's largest rural guerrilla movements between 1966 and 1968". Continues Time (March 9, 1970:37),

*It should be noted that a large proportion of the total population of Guatemala (now approaching five million) is classified as Indian--43 percent, according to the 1964 census. The remainder of the population (excepting, perhaps, the expatriates) are termed Ladinos. These groups are defined on the basis of cultural criteria. Individuals who speak a Mayan language, wear Indian-style dress, participate in Indian religious ceremony, in short, those who live like Indians, are classed as "Indians". Individuals who speak Spanish and wear Western-style clothing are classified as "Ladinos". The specific criteria employed in this classification procedure vary from census to census, and, at any rate, are inadequate for defining the distinction between Indians and Ladinos. An Indian is probably best defined as someone who considers himself an Indian (cf. the discussion of the problems of defining this distinction, Chapter Three, pp. 32-34).

The figures cited above are reported in Gilly, 1965, except for the literacy figures, which are taken from the UNESCO Statistical Yearbook of 1967. According to more recent studies (e.g., Adams, 1970), the situation has not appreciably changed.

"At least 3,000 were killed in the resulting crossfire; according to some estimates, the victims included about 80 active guerrillas, 500 sympathizers and more than 2,400 innocent peasants."

When one moves from the relatively cold world of statistics and the somewhat overheated world of popularized news reporting into the realm of anthropological writings on Guatemala, one might wonder whether the statisticians, journalists, and anthropologists referred to here are writing about the same country. It can be objected that they are not, since guerrilla activity and right-wing retaliation have been largely limited to the non-Indian areas of the country (i.e., the lowland areas of the south and east coasts and the Petén rainforest of the northeast), whereas anthropologists have focussed primarily on the Indian highlands. Nevertheless, the Indian regions have been at least influenced by this violence, although not devastated by it; for example, generally unpopular comisionados militares have been placed in highland communities by the national government to monitor guerrilla activity, among other responsibilities (cf. Chapter Two, pp. 28-29). As for poverty and disease, these are a statistically evident part of the Indian's existence. The anthropologist acknowledges the presence of these features of underdevelopment. But he usually presents the reader with an Indian for whom these features are merely part of the landscape, threatening aspects of the environment to which he has responded by withdrawing himself within the protective shell of his "closed corporate community", as Eric Wolf (1957) has termed it.

The Indian's community structure and way of life have served as an instrument of the conquered: they have provided the Indian with some measure of psychological security, in that he feels more secure

within the structure than outside it (cf. Gillin's (1951) "culture of security"). But anthropologists have generally failed to recognize that the community has been primarily an instrument of the conquerors. Its distinctive features, which the Indian has adopted as his own, originated in the Spanish conquest of the highland area. From the conquerors' point of view, the community was, and to some extent still is, an effective vehicle for protecting and furthering their own interests rather than those of the conquered.

Anthropologists working in Guatemala have generally over-emphasized the protective aspects of the highland community to the neglect of its burdensome aspects. For example, many anthropologists (e.g., Wolf, 1959) have interpreted the fiesta complex in the highland community as a mechanism which serves to level internal wealth differences among the Indians within the community, thereby attempting to increase solidarity in defense of the land against encroachment by outsiders. However, if this is the case, then the mechanism has failed on at least two counts. First, internal wealth differences have not been effectively leveled; relatively sharp socioeconomic differences do exist within Indian communities. Secondly, the Indians' land has been increasingly alienated, to the point where ever larger numbers of villagers, lacking enough land to maintain even a bare existence, must seek wage labor on the coffee and cotton plantations, even though they would prefer to remain in their communities. As another example, many anthropologists have, either overtly or by implication, considered the Indian to be the carrier of a "culture of security" which, by contrast, makes non-Indian ways so unattractive that Indians are loathe to take them up, a device which, it is claimed, thereby serves to

isolate the Indian from the non-Indian world, socially and culturally if not physically. Yet this device also fails. The isolation which supposedly results is belied by one of the Indian's most intimate* social relationships, that of compadrazgo (ritual co-parenthood or god-parenthood), which frequently involves non-Indians. Furthermore, the alleged "security" withers in the face of the distrust and even hatred which Indians manifest towards non-Indians, a distrust they extend even to their closest friends and kinsmen (cf. the discussion of Gillin's "culture of security", Chapter Three, pp. 34-36). And coupled with this definitely insecure psychological state are the objective realities of the Indian's world, the poverty, illness, hunger, violence, and death which are his constant companions.

It is the intent of this thesis to attempt to resolve these apparent contradictions in the anthropological literature on Guatemala by bringing to bear on the problem the nature of Guatemalan society, and to some extent the nature of world society as well. To borrow the words of Rodolfo Stavenhagen (1965:31), in his introduction to "Classes, Colonialism, and Acculturation",

It is not my intention to add new data presently unknown to experts in the area. My purpose is both more modest and more ambitious. It is that of reorganizing known data into a scheme of interpretation differing from those which are currently used in anthropology, and which I believe to be more fruitful for the purpose of clarifying some historical and structural

*Any of an Indian's social relationships can be termed "intimate" only in a very limited sense; they tend, rather, to be impersonal. Cf. Reina, 1959b, and Tax and Hinshaw, 1970, for discussions of the character of social relationships between Indians and other Indians and between Indians and Ladinos.

problems in the formation of (in this case Guatemalan) national society. (Parentheses mine.)

To understand the lives of peasant peoples, one must understand the wider society in which they live (Adams, 1970:3). Thus, the first task of this thesis will be to demonstrate that at a basic structural level the Indian is not "outside" the national society but, on the contrary, is integrated economically and politically into the national society. In economic terms, the Indian's labor has been the basis of the national economic structure; he must also participate in markets controlled by non-Indians who identify themselves with the national society. Politically, the Indian has had to operate in terms of a structure which has been imposed on his community to make the labor of its members more amenable to control.

Once these aspects of integration are dealt with, we will explore their implications for the description and analysis of the Indian's position in Guatemalan society. Several models which have been used to portray this position will be examined, beginning with the dichotomy models, such as the folk-urban, rural-urban, and Indian-Ladino dichotomies. Secondly, linear cultural typologies will be discussed (Wagley and Harris' (1955) taxonomy, and Adams' (1956) "culture components"); in this connection Gillin's (1951) "culture of security" will also be examined. Turning to approaches which recognize that to understand peasant societies one must understand their relationship to the larger society of which they are a part, Colby and Vanden Berghe's (1969) "plural society" approach and Adams' (1970) "power networks" will be discussed. As for approaches which recognize that peasant societies are part of an international as well as a national framework, both

Adams' approach and the metropolis-satellite model proposed by Andre Gunder Frank (1967) for Latin America will be examined for their utility and explanatory power. Finally, the possibilities offered by dialectical class analysis for removing studies of the Guatemalan Indian from their current impasse will be explored.

The fourth chapter will deal briefly with the fiesta complex of highland Guatemala, as an example of the distorted description and analysis which can result from over-emphasizing the internal functions and mechanisms within a community and neglecting the nature of its relationship to the wider society. Finally, we will conclude with an inquiry into the future of the Guatemalan Indian, in particular the nature of his "ladinization", and suggestions for further anthropological research.

CHAPTER TWO

ASPECTS OF INTEGRATION: THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The last Mayan kingdom of Guatemala fell to Captain Pedro Alvarado in 1526, and by the end of the sixteenth century the entire country was under Spanish control. From that time onwards, the Indian has been increasingly incorporated into Guatemalan national society, not as an equal to his overlords, but nonetheless as a basic component of both the colonial system instituted by the Spanish and the neo-colonial system of post-Independence Guatemala. His major contribution has been his labor. But this link with the national--and, ultimately, international--economic system has brought about a profound transformation of his society and culture, the effects of which are most clearly visible in the economic and political aspects of the Indians' social structure and organization.

Economic Aspects*

The conquest of the New World, along with the establishment of a sea link with the East, brought about a transformation of economic life in Western Europe. This was the commercial revolution, the creation of a world commodity market, which Mandel (1968:106) terms "the most important change in the history of mankind since the metallurgical revolution". International trade, which up to this time had been

*The historical material which follows is drawn from secondary sources, primarily Haring, 1963; Parker, 1964; Diffie, 1945; Simpson, 1934, 1938, 1940; Gibson, 1966; Jones, 1940; Solorzano, 1963; and lectures given in Guatemala during the summer of 1969 by Dr. W. K. Beck of the Department of History, State College of California at Fullerton.

essentially a trade in luxuries, now became increasingly a trade in raw materials, goods of current consumption, and means of production (Mandel, 1968:199). Thus, in the New World the initial reaction of the conquistadores to the riches of the Americas was widespread pillage and ransacking. But the Spanish soon came to realize that the most valuable resource the highland areas of the New World had to offer was not precious ores, or even soil, but manpower, so vital in the production of the raw materials now becoming important in world trade. This was especially true of Guatemala, a territory poor in gold and precious ores but extraordinarily wealthy in labor resources,* in the form of a civilized, dense population working rich volcanic soils.

To obtain labor for their enterprises, the Spanish at first had recourse to two institutions familiar to them from their recently-completed Reconquest of Spain from the Moors: slavery, and encomienda, or trusteeship. The encomienda was originally intended to gain converts for the Church. In Guatemala, however, the system operated to reward individual Spaniards for their services to the Crown with allotments of portions of Indians, whose labor and tribute were placed under their command. Theoretically, only the Indian's labor and tribute were subject to the encomendero's control; his land and buildings were to remain under the proprietorship of his home community. But this did not

*The central importance of Indian labor in Guatemalan history is acknowledged by several writers, in particular La Farge (1940), in his sequence of cultures for Maya ethnology which outlines Indian response to the rising and falling pressure of Spanish demand for Indian labor. (Goubeaud Carrera, 1952, and Beals, 1967, have somewhat modified La Farge's scheme, bringing it up to date.) See, also, Dessaint, 1962; Marshall, 1937; Service, 1955; Simpson, 1934, 1938; Weeks, 1947; and Wolf, 1957.

prevent some usurpations from taking place, despite the enormous grants of land also ceded to individual encomenderos by the Crown (cf. Haring, 1947:62).

All the Crown's attempts both to protect the Indian from excessive abuse and to prevent the rise of a rival nobility in the New World were inefficient, and even irrelevant. The prohibition of Indian slavery* by the New Laws of 1542 is a case in point. This legislation was largely irrelevant, given the situation which had developed in New Spain. De facto Indian slavery continued until the eighteenth century (Simpson, 1940). However, the more reliable encomienda had by 1542 become firmly established as the major form of labor conscription. Indeed, a new type of labor recruitment was already in its formative stages.

In 1530 the Crown had placed all Indians who were not slaves, nobles, or deeded to an encomendero under the "protection" of several corregidores (literally, "co-rulers"). These Crown agents were responsible for securing employment as wage laborers for their charges (who were termed "free" because they worked for wages, although they were not free to reject any offer of work), and for collecting tribute from them. The corregidores sometimes fulfilled this latter obligation by renting out their Indians (Haring, 1963:58). This

*The humanitarian protest against Indian slavery did not apply to the enslavement of black Africans (cf. Harris, 1964:16-17). Devices other than slavery were available for controlling Indian labor, and even necessary, since under enslavement Indians (who were potential laborers, subjects and souls) were rapidly dying off. Black slavery was necessary, however, if Africans were to be put to work on coastal and lowland plantations where the Indian population, sparse to begin with, was disappearing.

established a precedent, and in time relays or shifts of labor gangs came to be regularly conscripted to work for a limited period, fixed by law. In Guatemala, this system was called the mandamiento, and after 1550 became the major means of ensuring a stable labor supply, now drawn from as broad a base as possible. Under a law of 1553, all male Indians between the ages of sixteen and sixty were liable for labor conscription (except for nobles and artisans who could afford to bribe their way out). Detailed regulations were laid down concerning the number of months' work required, the type of enterprise eligible for such assignments, working conditions, wages, and so forth. Abuses under this system were as common as under its predecessors, and, after attempting reforms, the Crown forbade mandamiento labor in 1630. Again royal legislation proved irrelevant, however, for employers were already dependent on another, newer system, gañanía, or debt peonage.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, competition for Indian laborers was greatly increasing, due to the depletion of the native population by disease and overwork and the relative increase of the non-Indian population. But via the gañanía an entrepreneur could still ensure himself an adequate supply. He would simply invite workers to settle permanently on or near his estate.* He would then undertake to pay their tribute to the royal authorities and offer to pay them wages, usually in kind. He would also grant the worker the right to purchase goods on credit or, as needed, advance him small sums of money.

*This was sometimes done for him by law. A decree of 1553 had set down instructions for the concentration of Indians into planned communities termed congregaciones. If an hacendero were influential enough, he could have a congregación placed close to--or even next to--his estate (Simpson, 1934).

The worker's account would then be debited to the extent of the sums involved, and the worker would promise to repay the money through labor, a promise which was impossible to fulfill if he also wished to eat. Thus, resident workers, and even whole communities, became tied to the entrepreneur's hacienda.

The Spanish Crown was never successful in abolishing the abuses of the various systems of forced labor.* The great distance between Spain and her New World colonies to a great extent weakened Crown control. More importantly, Spain, by the nineteenth century, had lost her hegemony to northern European countries. Reforms were not even attempted by the Conservative regimes which took control after Guatemala's independence from Spain in 1821. Beginning with the presidency of Rufino Barrios and the Liberal regimes, however, the case was somewhat different. These regimes were intent on restricting Church power, and expressed a desire to assimilate the Indian into the national society. Hence, they attacked the "Indian problem" on two fronts: the Church, and communal landholdings. The Liberals regarded the Church as responsible for keeping the Indians "backward", and therefore confiscated Church lands and withdrew financial support from the clergy. The Liberals also saw the highland system of land tenure, the vesting of land ownership in the community of Indians rather than in the individual, as a prime factor in maintaining the Indians' isolation and a hindrance to the formation of a strong and unified Guatemala.

*Note that the intent of the Crown was never to abolish forced labor per se--the Crown, too, realized how dependent the economy of the New World was on Indian labor, and that the Indians would not work for their new masters unless forced.

Therefore, all Indians were required to obtain titles for the lands they worked. Unfortunately, this Liberal legislation meant more losses for the Indian, both in whatever protection the Church had provided him (e.g., food for the starving, some political intercession with the State), and in land.

During the last few decades of the nineteenth century, metropolitan entrepreneurs with an excess of capital at their disposal were seeking new fields for capital investment. Germans, in particular, were becoming increasingly interested in the potential offered by the lower slopes of the highland area of Guatemala for coffee cultivation. Non-Indians, quick to realize the growing value of highland land, were equally quick in making use of the government's private property legislation to evict Indians from their lands. This was done with relative ease, since few Indians had any concept of land "title", to say nothing of legal training or even literacy.*

The result was a growing number of landless and near-landless Indians forced to seek unskilled wage labor, a form of labor which was increasingly needed by the expanding coffee industry. For example, Dollfus and Mont-Serrat, two French geologists who happened to travel through Guatemala at the time when large-scale coffee cultivation was beginning, reported for the (Indian) region of Chimaltenango that "most

*This alienation of land apparently affected even some of the most remote areas of the highlands; some mention of it is made by a majority of writers concerned with highland Guatemala (e.g., Nash, 1967a:99; Colby and Vanden Berghe, 1967; Wagley, 1941, 1964; Paul and Paul, 1963; McBryde, 1945; Jones, 1940; La Farge, 1940; Naylor, 1967; Tax, 1953). Some communal ownership still exists, however; many communities of the west-central highlands in particular successfully resisted alienation of their lands during this period (e.g., Hill and Gollas, 1968:30; Nash, 1967a:99).

of the inhabitants, like those of villages (further to the northwest), leave their homeland to go and work on the nopal and coffee plantations, so that this region is well on the way to depopulation" (Dollfus and Mont-Serrat, 1868:521, my translation). By the 1880's, coffee had become Guatemala's primary export crop (accounting for over 90 percent of total exports in 1880 (Dessaint, 1962:332)), and supplying labor to cultivators of commercial crops had become a major concern of the government. Thus, the Barrios regime legally recognized debt-peonage and even reinstated a labor-draft. Furthermore, as one writer notes,

When Indians began claiming exemption from forced labor by filling small local offices, the government abolished the offices.... When too many Indians began to take work outside of Guatemala and then staying there, the government demanded a deposit for each Indian from the recruiting agents. (Dessaint, 1962:331)

The situation changed little during the first four decades of the twentieth century. In 1934 the system of debt-peonage was abolished, only to be replaced by a set of "Vagrancy Laws". An Indian who cultivated less than 2.2 acres, was required to work on public projects or private estates 150 days a year, 100 days if he cultivated more (Dessaint, 1962:331). Richard Adams (1970:395) has termed this a new form of encomienda, with the only difference being that the Indian's labor belonged not to an individual but to the patria.

Not until the Social Revolution of 1944-54 were meaningful labor reforms enacted. Although some campesino leagues were organized (cf. Adams, 1970: Ch. 9), these reforms were directed more at resident colonos on fincas than at the Indians who formed the majority of finca laborers. The Indian laborers, after cultivating their own meagre crop,

would leave their communities for the lowlands or the coast to harvest coffee or cotton, and then return with their wages to resume life in their home communities. Without the threat of force, as many as half of the Indians previously part of the migrant labor force chose not to migrate (Goubeaud Carrera, 1952:247). But the shortage of land had become so serious in highland communities that at least half of the previous migrants still felt compelled to migrate, now out of economic rather than legal necessity.*

There is no longer any need for forced labor legislation. In 1964 almost four-fifths of the agricultural population of Guatemala worked pieces of land considered insufficient (less than seventeen acres) to satisfy the basic needs of an average family (Sandoval and Cruz, 1968:4-5).** Economic alternatives are restricted, since in most communities non-Indians monopolize the most important jobs (Quetzaltenango and Chichicastenango appear to be significant exceptions here; cf. Chapter Three, p. 48; and Gruhn, n.d.). In Appelbaum's words, "Indians find great difficulties introducing themselves into an economy dominated by Ladinos and only the most skilful will have any success" (Appelbaum, 1967:36, my translation). This is not to deny that

*Some land reforms were enacted in 1951, but these were of little direct benefit to seasonal migrant labor, being intended more to weaken the power of the large landholders, especially the United Fruit Company (Naylor, 1967). However, Reina (1966:48) reports that some Indians of Chinautla did take advantage of the offer to work coastal lands during this time.

**The figures cited in Sandoval and Cruz are not analyzed in terms of Indians and Ladinos. According to the 1964 census, however, the Indian population is predominantly rural, more so than the Ladino population (cf. Zárate, 1967). Hence, one would expect that a large proportion of the agricultural population would also be Indian.

alternatives exist; they do, and they vary from region to region. For example, in Cantel there is the possibility of working in the local cotton factory (Nash, 1958). In Panajachel Indians can find employment in tourist services and construction (Hinshaw, 1968). In Santiago Atitlán land appears still sufficient for the needs of the community (Douglas, 1968). The Kekchí of Alta Verapaz have, since 1950, been migrating to settle permanently in the lowland region directly north of Lake Izabal (Adams, 1965). And, in Chinautla, Indians have recourse to the making of charcoal and pottery which they can sell in the nearby capital (Reina, 1966). But no alternative is as universally acceptable as seasonal migration, especially in the Western highlands, since migratory workers can return to their home communities with their wages to resume their communal life (Dessaint, 1964:342). Not that seasonal labor is seen by the Indians as desirable: only the poorest go (Hill and Gollas, 1968; Adams, 1964b). Appelbaum (1967:65) notes that the longer an Indian stays on the coastal fincas, the more negative his attitude toward finca labor becomes. Furthermore, Indians generally shun permanent migration: urban immigrants appear to be mostly Ladino, as do settlers on colonization projects on the coasts and in the Petén* (Zarate, 1967:49). At any rate, urbanization is no real alternative; given Guatemala's low level of industrialization (in 1967 the share of industrial products in Guatemala's total gross domestic product was only 12.9 percent (U.N., 1969:4)), urban jobs are few. Finally, permanent

*The Kekchí appear to be an exception here, even though how much they have gained by migration to the Izabal region is open to question: Adams (1965:26) warns that the minifundia-latifundia pattern threatens to be repeated here.

settlement as resident finca laborers has become virtually impossible, due to the restrictions of coffee quotas and the decline of cotton prices which make expansion of plantation operations unprofitable at the present time (Schmid, 1967).

This stagnation in the agricultural export sector of Guatemala's economy may well mean that even migratory seasonal labor will become an alternative open to proportionally fewer Indians. The population is growing, and with it the land shortage. Schmid (1967) estimates that by 1976 some 70,000 individuals (Schmid does not analyze his estimate in terms of Indians and Ladinos) more than the 1967 number will be looking for wage labor, and unless jobs are created, they will not find it.

Structurally, the national economy's dependence on Indian labor is obvious, especially in what Nash (1967a:88) has called the "adjunct export economy". Perhaps not as obvious is the Indian's incorporation into the national economy through the "regional marketing system" (again Nash's (1967a:87) term).

The pre-Conquest Guatemalans carried on extensive trade, both trade in luxury goods, which was interregional and even international (Wolf, 1959:81-2; Solorzano, 1963:29), and trade in subsistence commodities, which took place via weekly markets in the great squares fronting the temples in Mayan centers (Wolf, 1959:83). No universal equivalent commodity had yet developed, however (the term is Mandel's, 1968:72). Solorzano (1963:28) reports that several commodities of exchange were in use, including cacao beans, cotton cloth, copper axes, and, in special circumstances, gold dust and quetzal plumes.

With the coming of the conquerors, the elite trade was taken

over by the Spanish (Wolf, 1957), but the trade in subsistence commodities continued, only now with the intervention of the Spaniards and their money. According to Solorzano (1963:63), the Spanish organized a market of perishable goods, which provided for food and other necessities to be sent to the capital. Money had no immediate impact, however. Since gold and silver were scarce, the Indians continued to use cotton and cacao as equivalents in their exchanges for some time. Money eventually replaced such exchange commodities. Miranda (1952:204) notes, for example, that within ten years after the conquest of Mexico "some Indian villages, especially those near the capital and important cities, came to prefer paying their tribute in money". Familiarity with this universal equivalent was engendered through various means: through tributes and taxes, through wage labor (which, since wages were set below the subsistence level, in many cases functioned only to allow the Indian to pay taxes to the Crown, notes Harris, 1964:20), and because of the necessity of meeting such imposed expenses as those charged for priestly services (cf. Harris, 1964:21, 30-31).

Contemporary Indians are firmly embedded in the money economy, to such an extent that Sol Tax has termed the Panajachelēños "penny capitalists".* As well, the marketplace has become a major nexus of economic interaction between Indians and non-Indians, especially since

*They are not "capitalists" in the strict sense of the term, however. As Wolf (1959:224) points out, the Indian works not to accumulate a surplus to be reinvested in building capital, but merely to maintain his subsistence. If he desires prestige in the eyes of his community, he uses his surplus to participate in the religio-political system of his community.

the influx of Ladinos into highland villages in the mid-nineteenth century. Buying and selling of basic foodstuffs is still largely in the hands of Indians, but the supply of other necessities, especially manufactured goods such as cookware, candles, liquor, plastic ware, machetes, matches, wool and thread, and even clothing, is, in many cases, controlled by non-Indians (cf. Harris, 1964:33). If the Indian happens to grow any cash crops such as wheat or coffee, the disposal of these crops is also in the hands of primarily non-Indian middlemen and monopolists--generally to the Indian's disadvantage (cf. Tax, 1953:122; Pozas, 1952:311). Gillin (1951:31) notes that the Indians of Jilotepeque are in such need of cash following the harvest that they cannot wait to sell their grain when prices are high. They sell their crop immediately, when prices are lowest because of the relative glut on the market.* In addition, Ladinos are usually the Indians' only source of cash loans, for which they charge rates of interest high even in Guatemalan terms (the figure most commonly mentioned is 5 percent monthly, equal to 60 percent per annum; e.g., Appelbaum, 1967; Gillin, 1951; Tax, 1953).

Almost every ethnographer of Guatemalan communities has acknowledged the Indians' involvement in the national economy, at least in its effects on their daily lives. They note the temporary disruption of community affairs by mass migration to fincas (e.g., Bunzel, 1952; La Farge and Byers, 1931; Appelbaum, 1967), the effects of the

*These monopolists had an historical predecessor in the corregidores, who, as Colby and Vanden Berghe note (1969:48), were speculators who controlled the markets for Indian goods, at least in the Ixil region.

Depression of the Thirties on such things as style of dress (La Farge and Byers, 1931) and fiestas (Nash, 1955), the effect of currently declining incomes on consumption habits (Appelbaum, 1967) and dress (Rojas Lima, 1968), the effects of tourism on retention of or changes in handicrafts (Nash, 1967a:94; Tax and Hinshaw, 1969:76), and the increasing necessity for Indians to sell land (e.g., Reina, 1966). Two writers have been particularly vehement in their rejection of some frequent suppositions concerning indigenous economies. They point out that such economies are not self-sufficient, that Indians' economic systems are not insulated from fluctuations in the national and international systems, that Indians do engage in production for the market, that Indians' economic behavior is rational, i.e., that Indians do not respond more to the force of custom than to market forces or gainful incentives, and that Indians are not resistant to change (see Mosk, 1954; Tax, 1957). Other writers, concerning themselves particularly with the market system, point out that market systems are mechanisms of social articulation both horizontally (peasant-peasant) and vertically (peasant-superordinate) (see, for example, Wolf, 1967; Mintz, 1959). Most would agree with Wagley (1964) in his assertion that Indians are an integral part of the national and regional economic system, even though they are not aware of it. Whether the models anthropologists have proposed for Guatemalan society can deal adequately with this integration and its implications for the national social structure is the subject of discussion in Chapter Three.

Political Aspects

Not only were the highland regions of Guatemala rich in terms

of a densely-settled population, but this population had two characteristics which made it admirably suited to control by the conquerors: specialization, and organizational control of mass labor (Harris, 1964:8). Thus,

... once the native rulers had been removed or converted to puppets, the mass of commoners could with relative ease be put to work producing agricultural, industrial and mineral products for the benefit of the invaders. (Harris, 1964: 12)

The formation of the Indian community was the main focus and mechanism of this political control.* Even before the effective conquest of Guatemala, the Laws of Burgos of 1512 had required that the encomenderos see that the Indians were concentrated into settlements near the Spanish so that they might be instructed in the Christian religion and the European way of life (Simpson, 1934). After the first generation of conquerors had disappeared and a firm civil government had been established in New Spain, the Crown finally assumed the task of fulfilling what the encomenderos had failed to accomplish. In 1551 a royal decree ordered that the Indians, still generally scattered throughout the countryside on their plots of land, be gathered into towns or large populations. This was to be done slowly, without violence, by persuasion. The Indians of a resettled community were to work together to build a church and the other buildings necessary for the common good (Solorzano, 1963:78-9).

In this manner the strategic unit of the new Indian life

*This control did not become really effective in many areas until the latter half of the nineteenth century when Ladinos invaded highland areas seeking land.

became the Indian community. The execution of the Crown's plans for these communities was placed in the hands of Dominican and Franciscan friars, who planned physical arrangements and political control "with a vengeance", as Simpson puts it. Each commune was to be a self-contained unit, which was guaranteed 6.5 square miles of agricultural land, plus pasturage, woods and water. All of this was to remain under communal control (the indigenous pattern) and could be sold only after special review by the Viceroy. The settlements were laid out in a grid pattern on the Castilian model, with the church, plaza, priest's residence, and municipal buildings dominating the center of each village. Building costs were to be paid by Indian tribute and labor, which the Crown considered a fair exchange, in light of the benefits the Indians were receiving. There was evidently the intent on the part of the Crown to protect Indians as much as possible from the ravages of colonization. For example, all Spaniards, Negroes and mulattoes, other than the clergy, were forbidden to live in Indian communities (although this rule, like all the others, was frequently flouted). However, congregating the Indians also served economic ends. Tribute could be more easily collected and control of the labor force could be more easily maintained. The latter function became especially obvious when Indian settlements were placed close to mines or haciendas. (For information on the congregaciones, cf. Wolf, 1959:214; Solorzano, 1963:79; Simpson, 1934:43).

As for the system of political control, this was planned to the smallest detail. Mayan nobles (termed caciques and señores principales) were to have special privileges, such as carrying firearms or swords, riding horses, and wearing Spanish-style clothing (Wolf,

1959:182; Colby and Vanden Berghe, 1969:43), privileges which very frequently led to complete Hispanicization (Marshall, 1937). Initially, the Spanish ruled locally through the native noblemen that could be easily co-opted, and filled the higher posts of the regional hierarchy themselves. But within fifty years, those nobles who had not become effectively Spanish had become lowered in status to cultivators of their own lands, similar to the peasants (Mendelson, 1959:12; Wolf, 1969:213).

After this, effective local political control remained in the hands of the priests, all of whom were Spanish. The government of these Indian "republics" or pueblos, like the settlement plan, was modeled after the Castilian. There was to be a village council, with two alcaldes, who were peace officers with limited jurisdiction over legal controversies and certain administrative functions. There were also to be four regidores, whose responsibility was protection of Indians' rights, a notary, and a number of constables. All officers were to be chosen by vote by the village headmen and the members of the leading families. Outlying localities (aldeas and cantones) were organized along the same lines, but were subordinate to the pueblo (Jones, 1940:17). Religious as well as civic functions were assigned these local political officials, according to the indigenous theocratic pattern. Mendelson describes the situation in Santiago Atitlán:

The Indians ... tended to consider the Catholic Church, after the Conquest, as an ecclesiastical arm of the secular organization and not as the legitimate religious organization. From this derives the sociological fact that can be observed in the municipios of the (southwestern highlands), that the Indians involved in the Catholic cult and the functionaries of the municipality are united in the bosom of one single political organization.

(Mendelson, 1959:12, my translation)

The Church tolerated this amalgamation of the civic and the religious. Indeed, the priests fostered it with the introduction of cofradías, or religious brotherhoods, through whose ranks an Indian male had to pass in conjunction with a rise through the civic offices of the community, if he wished the prestige of his fellow community-members.*

By the turn of the seventeenth century, this pattern was firmly established (La Farge, 1940). The república de indios and the hacienda were now the two dominant institutions in the countryside. Their growth had been a response to conditions in the national and international economy.** Wolf (1959:214-215), like many other anthropologists, even after extensively discussing the formation of the Indian community by the Spanish and the resulting transformation of Indian life, chooses to emphasize the end-product as "retreat", an "instrument of the conquered" in response to the ravages of Conquest:

So well did (the new community) meet the needs of the Indian peasant that he could take it up and make it his own. Poised precariously on the abyss of disintegration, the commune proved remarkably resilient. It has undergone great changes since the time when it was first constituted in a shattered countryside

*This cofradía system had many effects beneficial to the conquerors, among them the levelling of class differences within the Indian community so as to prevent the rise of native leadership, and the impoverishment of the Indian. These effects are discussed in Chapter Four.

**Mining was declining in output and profitability, and at the same time the urban population was growing. The result was an increased demand for agricultural products whose production was more and more concentrated in the hacienda rather than the Indian village. The haciendas were now emerging as truly capitalist enterprises, while the Indian communities were in economic decline (Frank, 1967:131).

three centuries ago, but its essential features are still visible in the Indian communities today....

These defensive aspects of the Indian's way of life have been well documented (two primary examples are Gillin, 1951, and Reina, 1959b). But the resulting Indian community has served the conquerors well. Its survival to the present has been due at least as much to the degree of maintenance and control of a pool of reserve labor that it has allowed the entrepreneur as it has to the amount of psychological security it has allowed its inhabitants.

Prior to the Social Revolution, the Indians were able to carry on the activities surrounding their politico-religious hierarchy largely without interference. This did not mean that they were insulated from the politics, or the political control, of the national society. As Nash (1958) points out, political life in highland communities was (and to a great extent still is) carried out on two levels. The Ladinos allied themselves to the departmental and national governments and took a significant part in politics at the national level. The Indians' loyalties did not extend beyond their community. Indeed, they did not reach beyond their civil-religious hierarchy, which defined for them the limits of and membership in their society and related their whole community to the supernatural. In contrast to the Ladino, the Indian had no awareness of a national entity. The President was a remote figure whose picture hung in the municipal hall.* Nevertheless, Indians

*The President has become a very concrete figure to some communities, however. Indian leaders from such communities as Chichicastenango and Nahualá have successfully petitioned the President directly in cases of abuse by local Ladinos, by journeying to the Presidential Palace in Guatemala City.

were governed according to and affected by policies emanating from the national government, via departmental and municipal government officials, almost none of whom were Indians. At least since the turn of the century, Ladinos filled the top posts of the local hierarchy in most highland communities and thus exercised power over the Indians, even though remaining at the same time outside the Indians' external system. The local civil-religious hierarchies did, to some extent, insulate the Indian's day-to-day activities from events at the national level; but there was ultimately no escape from the impact of decrees from the national government.

This articulation with the national society became particularly evident during the 1944-54 Social Revolution. The preceding regime had brought about a few minor changes in the structure of local government, with the intent of centralizing power as much as possible (Adams, 1970:174-184). But the Arévalo administration of 1944-50 made the first attempt in Guatemala's history to make the Indian an active participant in political events at the national level. Competitive elections of mayors and town councils were instituted; national political parties and, to some extent, peasant and labor unions entered political life at the local level. Effects of these changes on individual communities varied from drastic to negligible.* Some of the most common consequences were heightened factionalism

*For a comprehensive treatment of political changes effected by the Arévalo administration, see Silvert, 1954. For a survey of the changes effected in various highland communities, see Adams, 1957b. Unfortunately, few of these latter studies adequately analyze why the effects of these political changes varied so greatly in intensity from community to community. This is a matter which needs further investigation.

between Indian and Ladino populations (e.g., Gillin, 1957; Scheele, 1957; Siegel, 1957), but also within the Indian population (e.g., Amir, 1957; Adams, 1957a; Nash, 1957a; Reina, 1957), and within the Ladino population (e.g., Gillin, 1957; Ewald, 1957); a decline in the prestige and influence of the principales (Indian headmen), as in Cantel, where they gave way to younger, more "progressive men (Nash, 1958); secularization of the civil-religious hierarchy (Nash, 1958); and replacement of Ladinos by Indians in positions of power (e.g., Reina, 1959a). In some areas the new political practices had almost no effect, for example in Alta Verapaz, with its unique socio-political structure (Silvert and King, 1957), and in the Ixil region of the northwestern highlands (Colby and Vanden Berghe, 1969:77). In yet other communities, the policy changes initially had a great effect, but the counter-revolution of 1954 brought a return to a state of affairs closely approximating the original (e.g., Reina, 1959b). However, the long-range effects of such political changes at the local level have been little studied (as lamented by Reina, 1959b; McArthur and Ebel, 1969, have made such a study), and several complicating factors have now arisen. First, the counterrevolution of 1954 brought with it the prohibition of union activities and the prosecution and even execution of many Guatemalans, including some Indians, who had participated in the activities of the revolutionary government (Newbold, 1957; Colby and Vanden Berghe, 1969:77). Goldrich (1965:363) notes that although it is difficult to imagine "conditions under which people change from perception of the relevance of government to nonperception", extreme coercion can deactivate and even thoroughly depoliticize. Furthermore, prolonged cynicism on the part of a people about the capacity of

government ever to act as they wish can lead to a gradual loss of the perception of the personal relevance of government, an effect exemplified in Chinautla (Reina, 1959b).*

Secondly, the counterrevolution brought not only reprisals and restrictions, but also an influx of militant foreign priests to highland communities, who are endeavoring to "reconvert" the Indians via Indian catequistas (catechists). This, often in conjunction with heightened Protestant missionary activity, has exacerbated factionalism, and even given rise to new lines of cleavage within many communities (e.g., Colby and Vanden Berghe, 1969; McArthur and Ebel, 1969).

A third factor, very much an unknown quantity, has been the effect on the political awareness of Indians in highland communities of guerrilla activity and the resulting counterinsurgency campaigns of the government. Apart from a few understandably undocumented accounts (e.g., Galeano, 1967; Gilly, 1965), little is known about Indian reaction to the guerrillas' activities. Admittedly, field research in this area would be extremely difficult, to say nothing of dangerous, for what should be obvious reasons. But even at a theoretical level, anthropologists have largely ignored the matter (Adams, 1970, is an exception here). One effect of the government's counterinsurgency campaign has been documented, however, namely the extension of duties of the comisionados militares in Guatemalan communities to include political reporting. According to Adams, the comisionados, previously responsible mainly for rounding up army conscripts, have become local

*Adams (1970:193) feels, however, that the "sociological awakening" brought about by the Social Revolution could not be forgotten within the generation.

listening posts for the military government, local "spies" who serve as communication channels down to the lowest level of the population. Adams (1970:199-200) considers it "almost certain" that these channels "will be invoked to restrict guerrilla activities" among other purposes. The campesino population in some areas, particularly on the south and northeast coasts where guerrilla activity has been most intense, has not apparently been overly receptive to these comisionados in their new roles: many have been killed (Adams, 1970:272). McArthur also reports considerable hostility towards the comisionados in Aguacatán (McArthur and Ebel, 1969:44-48).

The Indian is obviously affected by political events taking place at the national level and involved in national politics insofar as he is subject to the control of the power-holders. But he has little, if any, access to power himself (cf. Adams, 1970: Ch. 8), and participates actively in national politics only with his vote. This, the one available index of the degree of active involvement of Indians in the national decision-making process, would indicate that the situation now differs little from that which existed before the Social Revolution: most Indians who vote (most do not, since illiterates are not given secret ballots) are known as "oficialistas", since they vote consistently for whatever party is in power. This, as Adams (1970:212) points out, is not due to "conservatism" or "Indianism", but is thoroughly rational behavior, given the Indian's experience of government as being something to be placated, not controlled.*

*McArthur provides an example of this oficialista attitude among the Aguacatecos: "Because we want to vote for the one that's going to be president. If we don't vote for him, he can get angry with us and do us harm" (McArthur and Ebel, 1969:51, my translation).

CHAPTER THREE

MODELS

Students of Meso-America have recognized for about three decades the economic and political integration of the Indian into Guatemalan national society. Alfred Kroeber (1940:460), for example, observed that "it (the Middle American Indian population) is ... often fitted into the political institutions of the country and always into the economic one". More recently, Manning Nash (1967b:5) has termed this observation "an astute recognition of the dominant fact about the social life of the people of Middle America". He continues,

These Indians are part societies and part cultures, enmeshed everywhere in wider networks of political and economic bonds, and their cultures are the results of the interactions of different civilizations.*

The intent of this chapter is, in the light of this integration, to examine and evaluate several of the models which anthropologists have proposed as useful for dealing with the Indian populations of Latin America. These models include the dichotomy models, such as Redfield's folk-urban continuum and the Indian-Ladino distinction in Guatemala; descriptive typologies such as Adams' (1956) "culture components" and Wagley and Harris' (1955) taxonomy of subcultures; Colby and Vanden Berghe's (1969) analysis of a "plural

*Students of peasant societies in general have repeatedly emphasized this integration of peasant peoples into the wider society and the need for a national framework in studying these "part-societies". Vide Geertz, 1961; Friedl, 1963; Anderson, 1965; Halpern and Brode, 1967; Redfield, 1956; Firth, 1951; Wolf, 1956, 1966; Balandier, 1966.

society" in highland Guatemala; Adams' (1970) "power networks" in Guatemala; economist A. G. Frank's (1967) metropolis-satellite model; and Stavenhagen's (1965) colonial model. The possibilities for applying class analysis in Guatemala will also be explored.

Dichotomy Models

Among the dichotomy models, Redfield's folk-urban continuum has been perhaps the most controversial.* Redfield's model has never been successfully applied to Guatemalan communities. As early as 1939, Tax observed that according to Redfield's criteria Guatemalan Indians appeared in many ways to be folk (generally illiterate, ethnocentric, ignorant of events in the wider world beyond their own experience), yet in many ways urban (in no sense isolated, participants in a money economy, and impersonal in their interpersonal relationships). Perhaps Foster's (1953:163) comments on Redfield's model are most relevant. In terms of the wider society, of which "folk" societies are only a part, says Foster, folk and urban cannot be polar concepts;

... rather, they are both integral parts of the definition of a certain type of sociocultural unit in which the pre-industrial city is a focal point. Far from threatening the folk society, this type of urban unit is a precondition for its existence ... it is necessary to know a good deal about the history, structure,

*Much criticism has been directed against Redfield's proposed ideal types. Vide Mintz, 1953; Miner, 1952; Beals, 1961. Redfield himself appeared to reject, or at least refine, these concepts in later works (e.g., 1956) by emphasizing that "great" and "little" traditions are interrelated and interdependent.

and content of the national cultures (including cities) of which folk communities are a part in order to describe such folk units.

Dichotomies such as rural-urban populations, vacant-nuclear towns, and open-closed peasant communities are probably more valid than Redfield's, but they too are limited in scope. For example, communities and their residents have been divided into "rural" and "urban" categories on the basis of such criteria as number of inhabitants, presence or absence of public works amenities, and presence or absence of major governmental or economic activities (e.g., King, 1967). Such a division is useful, even necessary, for a discussion of urbanization, but it is essentially an ad hoc distinction. Apart from the issue of urbanization, it generates few fruitful questions concerning the nature of the populations thus classified.

Urban populations are omitted altogether from Tax's (1937) "nuclear-vacant town" dichotomy and Wolf's (1955) "open-closed peasant community" dichotomy. Wolf, and to a much lesser extent Tax, recognizes the major role played by extra-community forces in shaping the structure and content of highland communities.* By confining themselves to peasant communities, they have illuminated a limited portion of the structure of the national society--but only a portion.

The Indian-Ladino distinction is far more comprehensive. Yet within the network of the national society, these two terms are

*One might object to Wolf's use of the word "community" here, since his definition of "closed corporate peasant community" omits the non-Indian residents of the municipio, with whom the Indians interact on a daily, face-to-face, even intimate basis (cf. Colby and Vanden Berghe's (1969) treatment of a highland community as an integrated whole).

difficult, if not impossible, to define. "Biological" criteria are of little use. Indian-Spanish unions began with the Conquest; the offspring of these unions mated with other offspring of Indian-Spanish unions, until classification in terms of biological inheritance became chaotic. Cultural criteria were then, and still are, employed to make the distinction: an "Indian" is someone who lives like an Indian; a "Ladino" is someone who does not. But attempts at classification in cultural terms soon degenerate into simple trait-listing. Thus, Indians speak an Indian language, Ladinos speak Spanish; Ladinos wear shoes, Indians do not; Indians wear homemade clothes, Ladinos wear store-bought outfits; etc. But so many exceptions can be found that the usefulness of such lists becomes preempted. Even such a seemingly "yes-no" criterion as participation in the cofradía system excludes those people who call themselves Indians, and yet, contrary to the general pattern of "Indian" behavior, do not participate. Perhaps the distinction between Indian and Ladino ought, then, to depend on self-identification; i.e., anyone who considers himself an Indian is an Indian. But this solution, while a necessary aspect of any field worker's investigations, shifts the emphasis from the structure of the wider society to the individual Indian. As Adams points out, such self-conceptions and attitudes are essentially adaptive; while descriptively useful, they must, for purposes of analysis, be seen in relation to the social structure and the conditions that account for them (Adams, 1964b).

Lewis has sought an extremely pragmatic way out of this descriptive impasse by defining as "indigenous" any group in which economic and social needs are most urgent (ILO, 1953). In a similar effort, Adams (1960) considers an Indian to be "ladinoized" when he has

separated himself from his community. Both these solutions have their uses, but they also have an important implication. By diluting the traditional meaning of "Indian", these solutions suggest that this ethnic distinction loses its relevance when removed from the level of the community and applied to the level of the wider society. We will return to this point.*

Beals (1961) has pointed to another problem which afflicts all dichotomy models. They appear to imply that their sequence is developmental. Thus, "folk" peoples will tend to become "urban", rural dwellers will tend to become urban dwellers, and Indians will tend to become Ladinos. Beals notes that this assumption is often the basis for governmental programs. And he might have mentioned that these same assumptions underlie much anthropological investigation, especially acculturation studies. One Guatemalan example of this has been inquiry into what Adams terms "ladinoization" (vide Chapter Five). Another has been Gillin's attempt to explain why Indians and Ladinos do, in fact, co-exist without acculturative change taking place. Gillin (1945, 1948) suggests that the Indians of Guatemala (those of "San Carlos" or San Juan Jilotepeque in particular) have developed a way of life which provides them with a "culture of security" which, by contrast, claims Gillin, makes other ways of life so unattractive that Indians are loathe to take them up.

"Security", for Gillin (1951:1), is "the state of affairs in which an individual or group may anticipate with confidence that wants

*For discussions of the difficulties of satisfactorily defining "Indian" and "Ladino", vide Flores, 1967; De la Fuente, 1967; ILO, 1953; Wagley, 1958; Tax, 1941, 1952; Beals, 1955; Marshall, 1939.

will be satisfied (that is, that goals will be achieved) according to expectations". At the level of the individual, this concept of security could well apply to the Guatemalan Indian. As Wolf (1959:214) emphasizes, "so well did it (the reconstructed community imposed on the Indians by the Spanish) meet the needs of the Indian peasant that he could take it up and make it his own". But at higher levels, structural rather than psychological factors become important in explaining the relative stability of the Indians' way of life. Those in power make only very restricted resources available to the Indian sectors of highland communities. Thus, the status quo, especially the Indian's subordinate position in the community and the wider society, is relatively frozen. And because it is usually Ladinos who hold the power, any co-existence between Indians and Ladinos is on Ladinos' terms, not Indians'. To a great extent, the Indian way of life has been perpetuated because non-Indians benefit from its perpetuation (cf. the discussion of the fiesta complex in Chapter Four).

The notion of "security" thus fails to provide a complete explanation of why the Indian way of life continues to exist. But when this "security" receives the emphasis in descriptions of that way of life, it is not only inadequate but misleading. The suggestion of "security" contradicts the experience of many ethnographers of Guatemalan communities, who have found peasants more anxiety-ridden than contented. The Indian sectors of highland communities are noted for their all-pervasive permeation by interpersonal hostility. An Indian trusts no one, not even his closest friend (cf. Reina, 1959b). Quarrels, especially over land, are frequent, even within the family (e.g., Tax, 1953, 1957). This suspicion of one's fellows derives from the above-

mentioned restriction of resources allotted to Indians by those in power. In Foster's (1961:177) words,

Resources ... usually are absolutely limited. Productive techniques ... are essentially static. Consequently, production is constant: there is no known way to increase it however hard the individual works, unless new land and improved techniques become available. ... a family ... can expect no more than what it has been allotted, and it zealously watches to make sure it receives no less. The consequences of this situation are apparent: if someone is seen to get ahead, logically it can only be at the expense of others in the village.

Unlike Gillin, Foster looks beyond the boundaries of the community to explain intra-community behavior, and thereby succeeds in providing a more complete explanation of that behavior than Gillin's "culture of security" can furnish.

Subcultures and Culture Components

Neither Adams nor Wagley and Harris can be faulted for neglecting the wider society or for focussing on only a portion of it. On the contrary, their proposals are too ambitious. Wagley and Harris (1955:428) suggest a "taxonomic system of subcultures" which they hope "will have operational utility throughout Latin America". They list nine subculture types which "would seem to be useful for ordering the universe of Latin American cultural materials":

- (1) Tribal Indian, comprising the cultures of the few remaining aboriginal peoples;
- (2) Modern Indian, resulting from the fusion of aboriginal and, in the main, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Iberian institutions and culture patterns;
- (3) Peasant, carried by the relatively isolated horticultural peoples of Latin

America (and frequently by the lower classes of small isolated towns), who are called variously mestizos, cholos, ladinos, caboclos, or other local terms; (4) Engenho Plantation, the subculture of the workers on family-owned estates; (5) Usina Plantation, the way of life on the large modern corporation-owned agricultural establishments; (6) Town, the way of life of the middle- and upper-class inhabitants of the numerous settlements serving as administrative, market, and religious centers throughout Latin America; (7) Metropolitan Upper Class, characteristic of the highest socioeconomic strata in the large cities and of the owners of plantations; (8) Metropolitan Middle Class, characteristic of an emerging group of big-city professional and white-collar workers and owners of medium-size businesses; and (9) Urban Proletariat, characteristic of a mass of unskilled and semi-skilled industrial and menial workers in the larger cities. (Wagley and Harris, 1955:429)

Adams' (1956) attempt to map the "cultural components of Central America" is somewhat more limited in scope. Adams divides this geographical region first into nine "cultural traditions"; of those nine, the Spanish-American and Meso-American traditions are considered most characteristic of Guatemala. The Spanish-American Cultural Tradition is further subdivided into three "regional traditions": the Ladino, the Meseta Central, and the Panamanian. The Ladino Regional Tradition, which Adams considers most characteristic of Guatemala, is further subdivided into seven "culture components": Cosmopolitan, Local Upper Class, Emergent Middle Class, Mobile Rural Labor, Stable Rural Labor, Independent Farmer, and Urban Labor. The Meso-American Culture Tradition, the second of the two "culture traditions" which characterize Guatemala, has no regional traditions, but only enclaves. Adams, thus, directly subdivides this Tradition into culture components: Traditional

Indian, Modified Independent Indian, Modified Indian Labor, Ladinoized Independent Indian, and Ladinoized Indian labor.

Both Wagley and Harris' list of subcultures and Adams' map of culture components have serious shortcomings. Wagley and Harris (1955:44) do not claim that their scheme is in any way complete or definitive; they express the hope "that the present taxonomy will be refined and extended--or that it will stimulate others to formulate a more useful system". According to Beals, their scheme is badly in need of reformulation, not just expansion. Beals (1961) lists three counts on which Wagley and Harris' typology fails: it is descriptive rather than explanatory; it has a faulty logical base; and it is not oriented to any defined body of theory (which throws doubt on even its descriptive utility). And although Beals does not mention Adams' proposal, these same criticisms could be applied to Adams' "map".

For both typologies, the theoretical deficiencies are particularly evident in the plethora of criteria haphazardly applied in definition of the various categories. Two of Wagley and Harris' categories are ethnic (Tribal Indian and Modern Indian), the rest not. At least four seem to be based on residence (Town, Metropolitan Upper and Middle Class, Urban Proletariat, perhaps Engenho and Usina Plantation). At least three are based on occupation (Peasant, Engenho and Usina Plantation).

Adams' criteria are similarly chaotic. He sets out to define his "components" on the basis of "cultural traits", but leaves the nature of these traits extremely vague. For example, he defines components on the basis of not only the presence of traits, but also their absence or loss: the Mobile Rural Labor component, for example,

is defined as "somewhat deculturated". As a second example, the members of the Emergent Middle Class are described as carriers of a culture "definitely in a formative stage" which "can be more easily characterized at present in terms of its relationships with other components than by any highly distinctive cultural characteristics of its own" (Adams, 1956:891). This is confusing: if this somewhat amorphous group possesses few, if any, traits of its own but only relationships with other groups, how can it be termed a component? Perhaps, then, an incipient component? But this would be begging the question. To add to the confusion, Adams in some cases partially resorts to what he terms "rule of thumb identification", implying that his criteria are not entirely dependable.

There are other problems with the two proposals. Like the dichotomy models, Adams' and Wagley and Harris' typologies appear to imply that their sequences are also developmental. This is particularly evident in Adams' scheme: the five components of the "Meso-American Culture Tradition" are arranged in an acculturative sequence from "Traditional" through "Modified" to "Ladinoized". But perhaps the most serious problem with both models is the often uncritical acceptance and use accorded them despite their inadequacies (e.g., Nash's (1967b:8) mention of Wagley and Harris' attempt). The terminology they propose is widely used, especially Adams' sequential terms "modified", "traditional", and "ladinoized", which are particularly current in the literature (e.g., Schmid (1967) uses these terms in his analysis of migratory labor in Guatemala).

Plural Societies and Power Relations

Two approaches have recently been proposed which attempt to analyze various sectors of Guatemalan society in terms of a national framework. Colby and Vanden Berghe's (1969) study treats a highland community as a "plural society".* Adams' (1970) study treats such sectors of Guatemalan society as the Church and the military in terms of their access to power.

Colby and Vanden Berghe, however, are not really attempting an analysis of the national society. Their focus is the community. More than any other ethnographers of highland Guatemalan communities, they are concerned with demonstrating that

As parts of larger social systems, ethnic groups are so affected politically, economically and culturally that the validity of treating them as independent systems perpetuating themselves in terms of their own internal dynamics is increasingly restricted. (Colby and Vanden Berghe, 1969:2)

Thus, in their description of the municipios of Nebaj, Cotzal and Chajul the authors deal with the geographical and ecological setting, the region's history of contact with the conquerors, the main lines of cleavage within the communities, the institutional mechanisms of interpenetration of the sectors of the plural societies, and the effect of these aspects on individual behavior. In discussing the "complex process of change in ethnic membership and relations", the authors realize that "much of the change is exogenous to the local region", and

*Nash (1957, 1966, 1967b:9) has also offered the notion of a "multiple society with plural cultures", as "a means of approximating the kind and level of social integration in (Mexican and Guatemalan) national societies".

that they must therefore "broaden (their) scope to the national society ..." (Colby and Vanden Berghe, 1969:x).

At the same time, it is quite evident that the concept of "plural society", which Colby and Vanden Berghe have outlined and applied at the local level, does not serve these same functions at the national level. They admit that the "subject matter of this monograph is really a sub-society within a total society (Colby and Vanden Berghe, 1969:7). Extended to this "total society", their model encounters the same difficulties already outlined for the Indian-Ladino dichotomy model (cf. Chapter Three, pp. 32-33), since the two corporate groups and sets of institutions which compose the pluralistic society they describe are those of the Indian and Ladino of anthropological tradition.

Adams' recent attempts to deal with Guatemalan national social structure raise problems of a different nature. Like Colby and Vanden Berghe, Adams chooses to use social relations rather than culture as the base for his investigations. He does so because "each variation in culture becomes significant when it marks a variation in social relationships" (Adams, 1970:7). Unlike Colby and Vanden Berghe, he does not choose to study microareas, since this approach "(seems) to fall short of providing the links necessary to see how the larger whole (works) in a systematic way with the microspheres" (Adams, 1970:4). He continues,

The process of development (is) impossible to understand from a study of fragments. An automated factory and an Indian village will illustrate characteristics of, but not the structure of, the processes that have produced these events. (Adams, 1970:4)

Adams' focus is the national society. His purpose is

... to examine various phases of Guatemalan society to learn something of the structure of that society and how it relates on the one hand to the peasant, provincial, and general lower-sector population that still comprise the great mass of the nation, and how it relates to the world at large on the other. By clarifying the relations as they extend from the extreme of the entire world as a macrocosm to the local level as the locus of individual activities, it is hoped that the question of development in Guatemala may be seen in a broad perspective that will clarify the major forces determining both why and how the development occurs. (Adams, 1970:11)

Adams' (1970:18, 19) primary concern here appears to be basic theoretical issues, and his goal is to "map" or describe the national social structure so as to be "in a position to understand the conditions that control the perpetuation or variation of the events and, therefore, to formulate hypotheses or theories concerning them". Indeed, he devotes his first chapter to a discussion of various concepts he advocates for use in studying complex societies.

Unfortunately, Adams does not put these concepts to work in a systematic way. He admits that he has "intentionally not rewritten these later chapters in terms of the concepts developed in Chapter 1 ...". (Adams, 1970:11). Nevertheless, Adams does describe many significant aspects of Guatemalan society, in particular the growth of the power of the military and the church, the increasing concentration of power in the hands of the upper sector of the population, the lack of national development in terms of wider distribution in the total population of the increased wealth, and Guatemala's "crucifixion" by power originating beyond its borders. But he offers no integrated picture of the total national social structure.

The model Adams proposes is based on power. For Adams (1970:7), "power structure appeals as a network of relations that is extensive, penetrating, salient, and definitive for the kind of society under study, the nation-state". The reasons for his choice of power over such relational features as language and kinship are obvious. But his rejection of economic relationships as basic is more puzzling. The connections based on labor and market relationships, he claims, are "often fleeting, and make it extremely difficult to trace a network of interlocking relations for the entire society" (Adams, 1970:7). For Adams (1970:8), power has more to recommend it, since

It is a feature of every social relationship; it spreads its effects differentially through the entire society; and every individual is related to every other in some manner than can be initially estimated on the basis of a general understanding of the larger system.

It is evident, however, that the relationships arising out of labor and production are more basic to this "larger system" than is power. At every level of societal development and complexity, power is derivative rather than basic. Within a stratified society (according to Fried's (1967) definition), the mass of the population is denied access to the basic resources necessary to sustain life; they can gain this access only by payments of goods or labor to the small upper sector of the population who have the right of direct access (Fried, 1967:189). To maintain this system, the stratified community must therefore evolve more powerful institutions of political control than were ever required to maintain a system with an egalitarian economic base (Fried, 1967:225-6).

Adams (1970:318, 354) notes that labor and production are

basic to power:

Control over production and distribution of natural resources has always been, and presumably will continue to be, the single most important independent power base of any society.

The ultimate basis of power is in the control of the environment and its products; the expansion of these products ... provides a basis for the expansion in power.

These remarks echo Marx's (1969:67) contention that "The totality of (the) relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society--the real foundation, on which legal and political superstructures arise and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond." Yet Adams (1970:318) argues that "economics ... tends to cloud the issues". Adams can dismiss economic structure in this way only by narrowing it from "the totality of the relations of production", man's link with the environment and the basis of his existence, to a matter of resources and markets. This reduction is reflected in Adams' (1970:319) statement that he chooses to focus "not on the resources themselves, but on the systems of control that are exercised over them". Adams chooses to describe Guatemalan society in terms of power. But the resulting description will have little explanatory power until the economic basis of political control itself is dealt with.

The Metropolis-Satellite Relationship

Adams uses the nation as his unit of analysis in striving for an integrated picture of Guatemalan society. However, he recognizes its limitations:

The proposition that the nation is the maximum unit of survival is subject to

even stronger doubts. Few nations could survive today in their present form were it not for derivative power in the form of economic help or military backing from certain other nations. (Adams, 1970:43)

In the case of Guatemala, the "certain other nations" have become essentially one--the United States. As Adams (1970:143) points out, "Prior to the Second World War ... Guatemala was primarily under the international domains of the United States and Germany. That war eliminated Germany as an effective actor and left the United States supreme." However, as Adams comes close to admitting, this political control has an economic base.*

Adams (1970:40) at one point refers to Guatemala as a "hinterland to the primary industrialized areas", as are Latin American countries generally. But Andre Gunder Frank has advanced what is perhaps the clearest exposition of this hinterland relationship. Frank contends that underdevelopment in Latin American satellites is the necessary product of four centuries of capitalist development and of the internal contradictions of capitalism itself.

These contradictions are the expropriation of economic surplus from the many and its appropriation by the few, the polarization of the capitalist system into metropolitan center and peripheral satellites, and the continuity of the fundamental structure of the capitalist system throughout the history of its expansion and transformation, due to the persistence of re-creation of these contradictions everywhere and at all times. My thesis is that these capitalist contradictions and the historical development of the

*Adams (1970:107) says, "Contemporary Guatemala is under the domain of the United States in many respects, primarily commercially and diplomatically" (emphasis mine).

capitalist system have generated under-development in the peripheral satellites whose economic surplus was expropriated, while generating economic development in the metropolitan centers which appropriate that surplus--and, further, that this process still continues. (Frank, 1967:3)*

One of Frank's (1967:16) major theses, and one of great importance for analysis of Guatemalan society and the Indian's position within it, is that this capitalist structure, with all its contradictions,

... extends from the macrometropolitan center of the world capitalist system "down" to the most supposedly isolated agricultural workers, who, through this chain of interlinked metropolitan-satellite relationships, are tied to the central world metropolis and thereby incorporated into the world capitalist system as a whole. (Emphasis added.)

Frank (1967:17) mentions a variety of examples of these metropolis-satellite relationships at the local level, such as the relationships between latifundia and the minifundia surrounding them, those between a farmer, even a tenant farmer, and his permanent or occasional hired labor, or those between large merchants and financiers and the small traders and moneylenders. However, the most significant example for our purposes is the "Indian problem" in Latin America, which, says Frank (1967:123),

... is in its essence a problem of the economic structure of the national and international capitalist system as a whole. Contrary to frequent claims, the problem is not one of the Indian's

*Bauer Paiz (1956, 1970) has demonstrated some of the effects of this process on Guatemalan economy and society. Adams (1970:41) also recognizes this intimate relationship between development and under-development: "Development is, then, inherently uneven ... development for one portion of the whole must inherently mean loss for another."

cultural isolation, still less one of economic isolation or insufficient integration. The problem of the Indians, like that of underdevelopment as a whole, has its roots in the class and metropolis-satellite structure of capitalism ... and its manifestations are part and parcel of that structure. (Emphasis added.)

The economic and political integration of the Indian into Guatemalan society has already been demonstrated (vide Chapter Two). Frank offers an understanding of the basis and nature of this integration. But this understanding does not automatically produce a complete understanding of all aspects of the society of a satellite such as Guatemala. Frank admits that his 1967 study "still suffers from the lack ... of an adequate analysis of the class structure in Latin America". He continues,

... the general approach suggested here is no substitute for analysis. ... we must analyze the class and colonial structure at particular times and places.... (Frank, 1967:xxii, xxiii)

Class Analysis

Class analysis has been often mentioned but usually dismissed as a useful way of studying Guatemalan society. For example, Colby and Vanden Berghe (1969:15, 17) refer to such things as "class conflict" and "ruling class" but prefer to discuss the pluralistic society in the simpler terms of stratification and status. Wagley and Harris (1955) and Adams (1970) use "class" as a category in their typologies, but do not define it. Tumin (1952) rejects a simplistic notion of a "class struggle" between Indians and Ladinos, preferring to define relations between the two groups in terms of caste. Finally, Gonzalez-Casanova (1969) works with a notion of class, but appears to be offering the very

notion which Tumin has rejected, in proposing that the major conflict occurs between two populations, each of which has distinct classes.

No clear notion of class emerges from any of these usages. On the one hand, to speak of Indians and Ladinos as two populations, each with its own class structure, denies the integration of the two into the same national structural network. On the other hand, to speak of Indians and Ladinos as two "classes", one exploited by the other, is a distortion. This usage does not escape the limitations of the dichotomy model previously discussed, nor does it do justice to the economic situation which obtains in most Guatemalan communities. Not all Indians are impoverished, nor are all Ladinos wealthy. For example, Appelbaum (1967:37-38) notes that incomes are extremely unevenly distributed among the Indians of San Ildefonso Ixtahuacán. There, over half the Indian population sampled by Appelbaum earned less than Q10 a year; about a third earned from Q11 to Q99 a year; and one-fifth earned more than Q100. Similar disparities in other communities have been noted by Nash (1967a), McBryde (1945), Gruhn (n.d.), Ewald (1957), Paul (1968), and Hinshaw (1968). Likewise, not all Indians are prohibited from entering trades, and even a few Ladinos are forced to work for wages paid them by Indian employers (e.g., Ewald, 1957; Gruhn, n.d.:19). Adams (1970:166) notes that Indians have come to dominate commercial life in Quetzaltenango, the second largest city in the republic (although their political importance has not expanded correspondingly). Wagley (1964) goes so far as to claim that although a Ladino has certain linguistic and cultural advantages which make it possible to accumulate wealth, he is generally as poor, illiterate and unhealthy as are Indians and shares in their ignorance, poverty, and primitive agriculture. Evidently one

cannot consider Indians and Ladinos as separate classes.

Stavenhagen (1965) has proposed a usage of class which clarifies the situation considerably. For Stavenhagen (1965:35),

Class relationships in any society become clear only through the analysis of the whole socio-economic structure. In the Indian region of Chiapas and Guatemala these relationships do not appear through the study of cultural differences between the two ethnic groups, nor do they show in all of the social situations in which there are inter-group relations. Class relationships emerge clearly through an analysis of the distribution of land as a means of production, and the labor, trade and property relations which link one part of the population to another.

In addition, Stavenhagen makes a valuable distinction between the analytical concepts of "class", "class relations" and "class situation" and the concepts of social stratification which are generally associated with them. By treating "class" and "stratification" separately, Stavenhagen can deal with labor, trade and property relations on one level, a level of class relations. On another level, one of inter-ethnic stratification, he can deal with distinctions of status and prestige as they obtain between Indians and Ladinos. And on yet another level he can discuss intra-ethnic stratification, i.e., with status and prestige distinctions as they obtain among members of the Indian sector of the population of a community, or among members of the Ladino group. In this way neither the socioeconomic nor the culturalistic perspective is denied its importance or obscured.

Stavenhagen's distinction between social stratification and class relations is an important one for an understanding of what constitutes class analysis. As yet, there exists no adequate class

analysis of Guatemala. However, we can at least point to some of the ways in which various steps in a class analysis could clarify the nature of the Indian's position in Guatemalan society.*

An analysis of any particular society in terms of class is undertaken on a number of different levels, each more concrete and/or more abstract than the others. At the most abstract level, the mode of production of the particular society under study is the focus of analysis. This mode of production consists of both the processes of production (the productive forces, the technological level of the means of production and organization of labor power) and the relations of production (the relations that men set up among themselves in the process of social production). These two components of the mode of production are placed in both their historical and their synchronic contexts. First, the development of the mode of production through time is traced. This development cannot be studied in isolation from developments in other parts of the world, since it did not take place in isolation. After the opening up of the New World, of the passage to India and beyond, and finally of the African continent to European exploration and exploitation, the development of the European metropoli and that of their satellites were intimately linked. Thus, for Guatemala, the history of the present mode of production must be studied in the light of Guatemala's status as a satellite to a number of metropoli (cf. Chapter Five, pp. 81-82); as illustrated in Chapter Two, for example, the history of Indian labor must be studied in terms of

*The following owes much to Dos Santos' (1970) recent discussion of the concept of social class.

developments in the international politico-economic system. Likewise, at any one point in time, this mode of production must be studied as only part of a wider structure, which at the present time is the international capitalist system.* It is at this abstract level that the basic social classes are seen to originate, not as ideal types, it should be noted, but as essential categories which are abstracted from reality. If the mode of production is based on private property, as is the case in the capitalist system, two social classes will be present: those who own the means of production will constitute one class; those who are alienated from those means of production will constitute the other. These two groups will be in antagonism and opposition to each other, since their interests are antagonistic (for example, an interest in a high rate of profit opposed to an interest in a high wage rate).

This abstract level of analysis has its limitations, however. No concrete, historically given society corresponds directly to these abstract categories: a mode of production never exists in a pure form; neither do classes ever exist in a pure form that can be identified by simple empirical operations. Within the social structure of any concrete society, there will be social formations and phenomena which

*In Chapter Two this historical and synchronic integration was the framework for a discussion of the Indian's position in Guatemala. As pointed out in Chapter Two, Indian labor power has historically been essential in the production of the export crops basic to Guatemala's participation in the international economic system. This labor power has been appropriated by means of slavery, encomienda, mandamiento, gañanía, and vagrancy laws. Such legislative means are no longer necessary, however. Increasing alienation of the Indians' land has added to a growing proletariat the landless or nearly landless Indian peasants who are forced to sell their labor to maintain their subsistence. Recognition of this increasing proletarianization of the Indian is basic to an understanding of his position in Guatemalan society.

will serve to "obliterate lines of demarcation everywhere", in Marx's (1967:885) words. In order to deal adequately with the features of this social structure, class analysis must move toward a more concrete level.

It is on this level of concrete social structure that such matters as social stratification, in contrast to social class, can be dealt with. Social stratification introduces a factor of ranking of the individuals of a society, on the basis not only of their class position, but also according to differences of income, occupation, politics, etc., differences which in fact serve to obscure their class position. In the Guatemalan context, it is at this level that the Indian-Ladino distinction becomes significant. In Guatemalan society, being considered an "Indian" is definitely a hindrance to an individual's upward mobility, and in many instances a definite obstacle. In order to reach a position in the hierarchy higher than the one he holds, an Indian will usually have to abandon his Indian identity and become a Ladino. To do this, he will probably have to leave his community, since local Indians and Ladinos will continue to consider him an Indian no matter what changes he makes in his behavior.

On this level of analysis, "Indianness" evidently affects behavior. However, it cannot be readily defined at this level; that is, the Indian-Ladino distinction cannot be adequately defined in terms of such variables as occupation, dress, speech, or income, which are employed in categorizing individuals in a scheme of social stratification (cf. Chapter Three, p. 33). More often than not, an "Indian" will speak a Mayan language, dress as an Indian, and participate in his local cofradía system. But there are also instances of wealthy men, or those who have been converted to a new religious orientation by missionary

activity, both of whom may refuse to participate in the traditional ceremonial life of their communities and yet still consider themselves "Indians".* From this it appears that the definition of "Indian" is a matter for the most concrete level of class analysis, that of class psychology. Indians are aware only that they are "Panajachelēños" or "Aguacatecos", and not that they are, at a more abstract level, also peasants or wage laborers. Likewise, even the poorest Ladinos tend to see all Indians as more or less the same--inferior--and themselves as superior, and fail to recognize that they, with these inferior creatures, are members of the same class.

Thus, in concrete terms it appears that the ethnic distinction is best dealt with at the level of class psychology. But at the same time, it is essential to recognize that although the distinction is best defined at this concrete level, the relationship which obtains between Indian and Ladino is a colonial relationship, which has its genesis in the basic economic structure, the mode of production. Identification of a portion of a population as "Indian", hence inferior, is advantageous to the superordinate sector of the population. In the Guatemalan situation, one result of Conquest was the establishment of communities of people who are intensely localistic, and who thus offer little

*Statements such as "he considers himself an Indian" may be misleading in the Guatemalan context, if they are taken to imply the existence of some sort of pan-Indian consciousness throughout Guatemala. Such a consciousness does not exist. Rather, Indians are intensely localistic and much more likely to identify themselves as members of a particular community (e.g., as "Maxeños", inhabitants of Chichicastenango) than as "Indians". However, such terms of identification as "Maxeño" or "Panajachelēño" are never used to refer to Ladino inhabitants of these communities; they refer solely to non-Ladinos, i.e., Indians.

competition for available resources and positions of control; of people who expend their surplus on fiestas rather than capitalizing on it, and who must seek sources of cash to meet their ritual and maintenance expenses. These communities have functioned as self-maintaining, reserve pools of readily available and cheap labor. Sartre (1957:xxiii) describes the function of this type of colonial relationship in general terms:

... racism is built into the (colonial) system: the colony sells produce and raw materials cheaply, and purchases manufactured goods at very high prices from the mother country. This singular trade is profitable to both parties only if the native works for little or nothing ... everyone lives off them (the natives), even the "small colonizers", whom the big proprietors exploit, but who are privileged compared to the (natives)....*

This points up an essential feature of class analysis: the dialectical nature of the relationships which hold between the various levels of analysis. To be valid, analysis cannot be confined to any one particular level, whether abstract or concrete. Rather, all the levels constitute an integrated whole; each level must therefore be analyzed in terms of the others, and in terms of the whole. Basic determining factors are identified (i.e., the mode of production in its historical development), thus giving the analysis explanatory power. But the analysis is not left in the abstract: these factors can immediately be observed operating on more concrete levels of analysis. Such a dialectical approach can considerably clarify the nature of the social

*These relationships can be subsumed under the metropolis-satellite relationship, in Frank's terms.

phenomenon or phenomena under study. It can, for example, prevent confusion about the relationship between the ethnic distinction and class relations in Guatemala. Stavenhagen (1965:61), for example, maintains that the former is a colonial relationship, but one that is being replaced by a class relationship:

We cannot over-emphasize that the class character and colonial character of inter-ethnic relations are two intimately-related aspects of the same phenomenon. They are separated here only for the purpose of our analysis. Class relationships have developed parallel to and simultaneous with colonial relations and tend to displace them more and more. But the colonial character of inter-ethnic relations impresses particular characteristics upon class relations, and tends to retard their development.

Stavenhagen is correct in emphasizing the intimate character of the relationship which holds between class relations and colonial relations, but he is not correct in maintaining that the one set of relations is being displaced by the other. On the contrary, the colonial relationship and the objective class relationship coexist, on separate yet interdependent levels. An Indian and a Ladino laborer on a finca stand in the same relationship to the finquero, and to the means of production. Even though the Ladino's wages may be higher (cf. Schmid, 1967), the Ladino, like the Indian, is a member of the proletariat, forced to sell his labor in order to exist. Likewise, an Indian and a Ladino who grow primarily subsistence rather than cash crops could both be termed peasants. All peasants, like all wage-laborers, whether Indian or Ladino, are in the same objective class situation, although their individual subjective identification with one or the other ethnic group prevents them from realizing it.

From this perspective, what is occurring is not a replacement of the colonial relationship by a class relationship. Rather, individuals who are objectively and analytically in the same class situation and share the same class interest are going beyond the ethnic distinction as the framework for their self-identification and moving toward a more structural appraisal of their position in society.* Anthropologists attempting to analyze this position are faced with the challenge of overcoming the same barrier.

*Such a growth of class consciousness on the part of the Guatemalan Indian appears to be minimal at the present time. Revolutionary movements appear thus far to have had little success in winning Indian support in any of the highland areas of Latin America. Bejar (1969) recounts experiences with Indian resistance in Peru; Debray (1967:51) discusses the impenetrability of Indian communities. The durability of the ethnic distinction as the primary framework within which Indians form their self-identification, and the strength of the structure and extreme localism of highland communities are major obstacles facing a revolutionary movement attempting to gain peasant support in highland areas.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FIESTA COMPLEX

As we have seen, the models of Guatemalan social structure proposed by anthropologists and others have generally failed to deal adequately with the Indian's integration into the national--and global--society. This failure extends to studies at the community level. In particular, the analysis of the complex of institutions termed the "fiesta system" by Harris (1964) has suffered from a too-narrow focus on the community, to the neglect of the integral relationship such communities bear to the wider society.

The Basic Pattern

The fiesta system lies at the core of the social structure of most highland communities whose populations are predominantly Indian (cf. Cancian, 1967:283). Any general description of the complex can be only an approximation, since there are as many variations in matters of detail as there are municipios (Tax, 1937, in Cancian, 1967:284). The basic pattern, however, rests on the institution of the civil-religious hierarchy. Cancian (1967:284) has provided a concise summary of its basic features:

It consists of ranked offices taken for one-year terms by the (Indian) men of the community. The offices are ranked in two ways: first, they are arranged in levels of service, whereby a man must serve on the first level before he is eligible for service on the second level, and so on; second, authority tends to be concentrated in the top levels, making a hierarchy of authority as well as a hierarchy of service. It is often called the "ladder" system.

The individual office is called a cargo. It is customary for a man to have what might be called a cargo "career". He begins with a low office, usually before he is married, and, with years of rest between terms of service, occupies a number of offices during his lifetime. Those who pass through all the levels of the hierarchy become the elders, or principales, of the community. They are usually exempt from taxes and communal work, and have great influence in community decision-making.

The hierarchy usually includes offices from both the civil or political and the religious or ceremonial sides of community life. As traditionally conceived ... progress through the hierarchy involves some alternation between the civil and religious sides as the individual develops his career. Characteristically, there are only one or two offices at the top, many at the bottom, giving the hierarchy a pyramid shape. All the (Indian) men of a community are expected to serve in the hierarchy, at least at the bottom level; social pressure on those who hesitate is great. Service is without pay and, in religious cargos, may involve very substantial expenditures by the incumbent.

It is the religious cargos which tie the hierarchy into a "fiesta complex". Once married and established as an adult, a man becomes eligible for mayordomos, or second-level cargos, which entail membership in religious brotherhoods or cofradías. To these associations are entrusted the care of the saints and the sponsorship of the fiestas which form the major part of the community's fiesta cycle. Reina (1967:319) lists three types of fiestas. One is costumbres, private or familial rituals usually performed by chimanes or shamans, which are outside the jurisdiction of the cofradías. The second is the fiesta de costumbre, which includes the celebration of minor saints conducted by appointed individuals in the cofradías. The third type

comprises the fiestas patronales or titulares, which honor major saints, and which are organized by the religious groups, the pueblo, and the civil-political units. Sponsorship of one of these major fiestas brings the mayordomo responsible much honor and prestige--but usually debts and temporary impoverishment as well. Expenses for ceremonial necessities such as candles, fireworks, music, new garb for the saints, food, and liquor are most frequently met by funds provided by the individual cargo-holder who is sponsoring the fiesta. In addition, of course, as Cancian (1967:289) notes, "service in any cargo takes much time which might otherwise be devoted to economic activities".

Functions

Nash (1958a:100, in Cancian, 1967:289) has drawn a useful distinction between the manifest and latent functions of this fiesta complex, i.e., between the direct or intended consequences and those unintended or indirect. He lists the following manifest functions:

From the public point of view, the hierarchy entailed the manifest functions of caring for the administrative order of the community, providing police protection, dispensing justice, caring for the church, housing the saints, discharging the community's responsibilities to the supernatural by seeing that important feast days were celebrated by a duly constituted organization, and providing the body of elders who were the actual government of the Pueblo.

The hierarchy is the link between the local community and the nation, on the one hand, and between the local world view and the Catholic Church, on the other. The requests and demands of the Guatemalan national government are transmitted to local Indian societies through officials of the hierarchy. (Cancian, 1967:289, emphasis added.)

In addition, from an individual point of view, the fiesta component of the system provides an opportunity for pleasure and enjoyment, a chance to "let off steam" in drinking, dancing and music.

As for the latent consequences of the complex, Cancian (1967:289-290) lists several of the functions frequently noted in studies of highland communities. The system symbolically reasserts the strength and integrity of the Indian sector of the community structure in the eyes of its members by bringing them together in common rituals and allowing for individual expression of commitment to the community. Ideally, participation in the system defines membership in the Indian sector of the community. Ideally also, the system defines the course an individual's career must take if he wishes to achieve respect and political importance in the community. These functions of the hierarchy are now changing under pressure from political change and missionary activity (see below). As for the fiesta component, fiestas provide an outlet for anti-Ladino hostility, evident particularly in the dances and pageants in which both the Conquerors and their modern heritors are portrayed and mimicked in grotesque fashion (cf. Wagley, 1949; Bunzel, 1952).

All these functions clearly have an integrating effect on the Indian sector of a community. It is this integrating aspect of the fiesta complex which most anthropologists have emphasized. Eric Wolf (1955, 1957, 1959), in particular, sees the workings of the system as an aspect of the attempt by the Indian members of a community to increase their internal solidarity and thus defend their land against Ladino encroachment. For Wolf (1959:216), the system is primarily an equilibrating device, the "balance wheel of communal economics":

Each year, religious participation wipes out considerable sums of goods and money; each year part of the surplus of the community is consumed in offerings or exploded in fireworks to please the saints. The system takes from those who have, in order to make all men have-nots. By liquidating the surpluses, it makes all men rich in sacred experience but poor in earthly goods. Since it levels differences of wealth, it also inhibits the growth of class distinctions based on wealth. Like the thermostat activated by an increase in heat to shut off the furnace, expenditure in religious worship returns the distribution of wealth to a state of balance, wiping out any accumulation of wealth that might upset the existing equilibrium. In engineering parlance, it acts as a feedback, returning a system that is beginning to oscillate to its original course.*

There are several difficulties with this explanation of the consequences of the fiesta complex, however. First, objections can be raised even within the confines of the Indian sector of the community. As Cancian (1967:291) points out, the stratifying effect of the system is more important than the equalizing effect, first "because the formal structure of the hierarchy inevitably differentiates people", and secondly "because there is considerable evidence for economic differentiation within the communities in question". Concerning the first point, not all who serve in the hierarchy can reach the top, since there are many fewer positions at the top than at the bottom. The larger the community, the more stratified it will be, since the holders of top posts will be small in number compared to the population as a whole (Cancian, 1967:291). In economic terms differentiation is even

*This levelling effect also receives the emphasis in Tax and Hinshaw, 1969; Nash, 1961; Reina, 1966.

more obvious. The uneven distribution of income among the Indians of San Ildefonso Ixtahuacán has already been mentioned (see Chapter Three, p. 48); similar situations have been reported by many ethnographers (e.g., Wagley, 1941; Tax, 1953; Tumin, 1952). Cargos vary greatly in cost: "in most communities the wealthy take the most expensive posts, the poor man passes the less expensive ones" (Cancian, 1967:288). The rich spend on their cargos more than the poor do on theirs. But, notes Cancian (1967:292), "the rich seem to be so rich that they do not lose their relative standing ... not only do these individuals maintain their economic standing during their lifetimes, but many even manage to pass it on to their descendants". Cancian (1967:288) concludes,

In summary, in terms of the internal relations in the community, the hierarchy does socially stratify the population, and in a number of cases it is not an effective economic leveller but only a way of making public and acceptable the economic differentiation that does exist in a community.

Objections to this proposed equilibrating function become even more serious, however, when the Indian sector of a community is considered in the context of the wider society. On this issue, Cancian (1967:293) ceases to raise any objections to Wolf's thesis, contending that

From the point of view of external relations, i.e., relations with the non-Indian world, the consumption of wealth may be seen as integrating in a manner independent of the conflicting interpretations reviewed above ... cargos require that wealth be used in an Indian way, and prevent its use in a way that might bring foreign elements into the community.

Marvin Harris is one of the few anthropologists to speak out

strongly against this interpretation of the "external" functions served by the fiesta complex. Harris (1964:29) contends that

Not only has the fiesta system failed to level the Indians into a homogeneous solidary group, but a more inefficient defense against outsiders could scarcely be imagined.... Far from protecting the Indian communities against encomienda, repartimiento, debt peonage, excessive taxation and tribute, the fiesta system was an integral and enduring part of the mechanisms by which these noxious influences gained access to the very heart of the village.

He continues,

It seems all too often to be forgotten that the closed corporate villages fulfilled certain vital functions with respect to the larger system in which Indian life was embedded. From the point of view of this larger system the proliferation of ceremonies, the burdens of the cargueros, and the whole civil-religious hierarchy are nothing but direct or indirect expressions of the economic and political vassalage into which the Indians have fallen. (Harris, 1964:29, emphasis added.)

Both historical and contemporary evidence support Harris' argument. Reference has already been made to the conquerors' imposition of political organization on Indian communities, the introduction of cofradías by the Spanish priests, and the subsequent merger of these secular and religious organizations into one system (vide Chapter Two, pp. 23-24). The civil-religious hierarchy was utilized by the colonial government to maintain control over the Indian's labor and resources. In the same way, the cofradías and fiestas introduced by the priests served as mechanisms of control and sources of profit for the Church, even though the priests may not have originally intended them as such.

Harris (1964:30) refers to a report from eighteenth-century Peru, in which Antonio de Ulloa noted that one of the first tasks which a newly appointed priest undertook was to create additional fiestas, requiring additional outlays for various services rendered by the Church and its representatives. The origins of the fiesta system appear to go back to the sixteenth century, however. Madsen (1960:29) reports that

Catholic priests attracted many Indians to the church by encouraging them to dedicate their native religious songs and dances to God and the Catholic saints. Father Pedro de Gante, one of the first Franciscans who came to Mexico, thought up this stratagem for attracting Indians to church fiestas at a time when they showed great hostility to Christianity.

Gilllin (1951) notes that cofradías were emphasized in the sixteenth century as instruments of the Counter-Reformation. Indians were induced to take offices in these cofradías by such enticements as exemption from forced labor (Jones, 1940:145).

The Church was by no means the sole beneficiary of the system, even in colonial times. The drain of wealth to support the community hierarchy and fiestas, as well as demands on villagers for money rather than produce to pay the required expenses, forced the majority of Indians to seek wage labor, thus providing the haciendas and mines with an almost inexhaustible supply of labor. Now the finqueros have become the primary beneficiaries of the system. As mentioned above, many Indians are impoverished to a point where they must seek wage labor for at least part of the year (see Chapter Two, p. 15). The fiestas themselves serve as major recruiting opportunities for finca agents, who entice Indians, often when drunk, into signing labor contracts in return for a small advance (cf. Harris, 1964:33; Schmid, 1967; Tax, 1953;

Bunzel, 1952). Simpson (1938) notes that labor recruiters were preying on Indians at fiestas as early as the eighteenth century.

Also at the local level, non-Indian sectors of the population stand to benefit from the fiesta system. As Harris (1964:33) notes, "the celebration of fiestas provides the principal occasion for the purchase of non-subsistence goods ... fiesta buying involves the Indians in transactions with non-Indians who control the commercial sources of non-subsistence commodities". This is particularly true of liquor, whose production, despite some illegal distilling, remains under Ladino control (cf. McBryde, 1945; Tax and Hinshaw, 1969); and also of loans, so necessary to meet fiesta expenses (vide Chapter Two, p. 19). Ladinos have understandably come to regard fiestas as lucrative market opportunities (e.g., Wagley, 1957:275).

Change

The fiesta complex thus serves to reinforce the Indian's integration into the wider society. This integration is even more clearly illustrated in the changes which the fiesta system is undergoing under the influence of forces originating at the national level. These forces are primarily two: direct political action, initiated during the 1944-54 Revolution, and missionary activity, both Protestant and Catholic.*

*Cancian (1967:296) mentions another factor, that of change in population size: "reduction may bring too heavy a burden of cargos on each individual; increase may result in too few cargos to consume community resources". The former possibility seems remote. As for population growth, given the restricted resources available to a community, this would likely result in a reduction instead of an increase in the surplus generated within a community. At any rate, communities as large as Chichicastenango (population 40,000) support a thriving fiesta system (although the hierarchy has become somewhat reduced in size; cf. Gruhn, n.d.).

Reference has already been made to the political changes at the local level which took place under the Arévalo administration and to the introduction of many foreign priests into highland communities after the 1954 counterrevolution (see Chapter Two, p. 28). As mentioned above, the imposition of the concept of elected, rather than appointed, municipal officers and councils and the action of political parties had drastic effects on the social structure of many communities: decline in the prestige and influence of the principales, a weakening of the age-grading stratification principle, and the separation of the civil and religious wings of the hierarchy, which meant an increasing secularization of community life. These effects were by no means uniform, however. By the time of the Revolution, the fiesta complex was already in decline in some communities (e.g., Amir, 1957; Ewald, 1957). In others, the principales still retained some authority, nominating candidates for the political contests (e.g., Scheele, 1957). In other communities, such as Chinautla and Nebaj, the cofradías are still strongly supported (cf. Reina, 1966; Colby and Vanden Berghe, 1969). In Cantel, factory workers have become increasingly reluctant to serve in cofradías, but still subscribe to the necessity of maintaining them (Nash, 1958a). Tumin (1952:151) in 1952 saw the fiesta system breaking down in San Luis Jilotepeque, with younger Indians becoming increasingly unconcerned about gaining prestige via the hierarchy. Many such examples of change can be drawn from all the communities studied since the Revolution.*

*Unfortunately, there has been no systematic attempt to analyze the factors accounting for these differential effects in a cross-community study, apart from Ebel's (1964) comparison.

Missionary activity has also affected the fiesta system in Guatemalan communities, in ways varying from drastic to negligible. The Roman Catholic organization Acción Católica Rural has had special impact, working as it does through militant foreign priests (mostly American) who develop native catequistas (catechists) at the local level to train others in the new way and even to infiltrate traditional organizations (cf. Colby and Vanden Berghe, 1969:83). Adams (1970:296) describes the general effect:

The appearance of priests from a non-Latin tradition ... brought an immediate conflict on the local level. The affairs of the community, intimately bound up in the affairs of the religion, suddenly became the target of special interest to the new priest. In an attempt to eliminate antiquated colonial and pre-colonial pagan practices, the very structure of the political organization of the community was being attacked. Almost everywhere the new priests went in the Indian area they found themselves dealing with the cofradías. In some, the older organizations were already under structural pressure from other events in the country. ... In many, however, the Indian organization was strong, and the priests were unable to make any significant inroads on the Indians' area of authority and power.

In at least one community, stepped-up Protestant proselytizing has followed closely on the heels of Catholic successes. McArthur (1969) reports that in Aguacatán, shortly after the arrival of the new priest, Protestants began to change their methods, using translations of Scripture and hymns, even recording them for the benefit of illiterates, and, like the Acción Católica, vehemently opposing Indian costumbre at every opportunity.

Under these pressures, the hierarchy in Aguacatán has almost

completely disintegrated. The costumbre or traditional group has lost control of their ceremonial center, the church, to the Maryknoll father, who has organized new religious organizations called hermandades (which require military protection for their processions!). Thus, traditional officers no longer control fiestas. They have not completely faded from sight, however: the principales still have a great deal of influence in the selection of the major political officers, the alcaldes auxiliares (who can now be "new Catholics" and even Protestants). The older system is holding on in other ways as well. McArthur reports that there is a good deal of syncretism within both the "new Catholicism" and the body of Protestant converts: the New Catholic religious and ceremonial practices appear very similar, at least in form, to the old ones; within the Protestant Church, devotion of time to church activities is still considered an obligation and an honor, and offices within the church are considered vehicles to position, power, and prestige (McArthur and Ebel, 1969).

The fiesta system as anthropologists have described it appears to be in decline in many communities. Increasing population pressure on restricted land resources has for many Indians meant an even greater struggle to maintain enough of a surplus to meet their maintenance expenses. Because of this increased economic pressure, expenditures on ceremonial or other community obligations have been reduced in some cases. Hinshaw (1968:75), for example, reports a considerable reduction in fiesta spending for Panajachelenos since 1936. McArthur finds that the economic situation in Aguacatán is making it more and more difficult for individuals to undertake three months' community service without remuneration, and that municipal authorities will probably have to

provide pay for the formerly voluntary posts of cleaners and sweepers (McArthur and Ebel, 1969). Thus, in some communities the economic pressures to which the fiesta complex has contributed by draining off wealth for community service, may now be contributing to the decline of the system. As Cancian (1967:296) points out,

If a community and its citizens lose major sources of income, then the burden of cargo service may become so great that the arguments of reluctant individuals become accepted; as has happened in many communities, the cargos go unfilled and eventually disappear.

Political action for change, Protestantism, and to some extent the new Catholicism offer alternatives and economic advantages to Indians who have become economically depressed to the point where increasing numbers must seek wage labor for at least part of the year.* Yet these alternatives do not necessarily entail a loss of Indian identity. For example, Protestant Indians in Aguacatán are still willing to serve in the civil posts of the local hierarchy as long as they are not obliged to participate in the religious ritual formerly expected of occupants of these posts (McArthur and Ebel, 1969).

It would appear that the Indian sectors of highland communities need not be monolithic in order to survive. Hinshaw (1968: 91-92) provides a graphic example from Panajachel:

(Panajachelēños realize that) the adoption of Ladino dress, schooling and

*Compulsory military service is listed by Hinshaw (1968), among others, as an additional alternative to participation in the fiesta system. But, as Adams (1970:248) points out, "there are few areas of Guatemalan life that are less known than the life of the enlisted man. What the army does to him and what he contributes to the army have never been systematically studied."

Protestantism gives economic advantages.... Of those Indians who seek their fortune among the Ladinos, only the richest can afford to remain visibly Indian. Nevertheless, it is worthy of note that the richest Indian in Panajachel in 1964, proprietor of three launches and a prosperous passenger-cargo service across the lake, which he has developed from scratch, still wears native dress, despite the fact that his father was one of the first Panajacheleños to adopt Ladino dress, and the fact that one of his brothers is completely ladinoized. He withdrew from *cofradía* or church obligations years ago, yet he has not detached himself from the Indian community. The Panajacheleños have permitted individualism free rein, and the result is a community of Indians of whom many appear completely ladinoized, though there are those who--with few exceptions--are no less Indian than they were in 1936. (My translation.)

As long as an Indian remains in his community, there appears to be little likelihood that he will abandon his Indian identity or come any closer to an awareness that he and many Ladinos are structurally in the same socioeconomic position. "Indianness" goes much deeper than outward appearances, a fact which has important implications for studies of social change.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FUTURE

... social change constitutes the principal chapter of contemporary Guatemalan sociology.... Hence the importance of studies which help us to grasp a complete picture of the historical process in a society: what that society was, what it is, and what it is likely to be, based on the current events which condition its future. (Rojas Lima, 1968: 65, my translation.)

Anthropologists working in Guatemala have not hesitated to tackle the question of social change nor to hazard predictions about its course. But insofar as their focus has been on the community rather than the wider society and on cultural rather than socioeconomic variables, they have failed to present the "complete picture" sought by Rojas Lima.

The Community Focus

The integration of the community into the wider society needs no further demonstration here (cf. Chapter Two, where the economic and political aspects of this integration were dealt with). Given this integration, the community focus in studies of complex societies may be distorting. As Geertz (1961:7-10) points out, community studies are useful for getting at certain types of data otherwise unobtainable; but they provide only the bricks, not the mortar, of the social edifice, and leave us ignorant of the "complex lattice".

Most anthropologists have limited their study of sociocultural change to particular communities and have hesitated to predict the course of national events. Adams is a significant exception, an anthropologist who has long been concerned with Guatemalan society above

the level of the community. Indeed, Adams is one of the few anthropologists who have dealt with society beyond the confines of the Indian sector of the community (e.g., vide Adams, 1964, 1967). The phrase "Indian community" is almost universal in Guatemalan anthropology; Ladino inhabitants of the municipio are treated as, at best, extraneous, or, at worst, irrelevant elements:

Sol Tax (1953), for instance, while studying an Indian economy in Guatemala, chooses a community in which one-third of the population is Ladino. Yet Tax describes only the Indian aspect and leaves aside the mestizo population as though the community's economy were not a complex and integrated whole. When he describes the inevitable interaction taking place between Indians and Ladinos, he does so as though he were dealing with the external relations of Indian society. Siverts (1956), when speaking about monetary exchanges between Indians and Ladinos, even uses the term "foreign trade". (Stavenhagen, 1965:33)*

Adams (1962) assails this aspect of Guatemalan community studies as one of the salient features of the "changing myth" of the community in Latin America. Too many studies, claims Adams, have assumed the community to be a natural grouping with an integral unity, "homogeneous" in Redfield's terms. This conceptualization leads to the conclusion that intra-community relationships are cooperative and friendly, a "battery of stored energy for action and development", waiting only to be freed from the fetters of custom. But, as Adams

*Tumin (1952) and Colby and Vanden Berghe (1969) merit special mention here, since they, like Adams, number among the few anthropologists who have turned their attention to the Ladinos as an integral part of the highland community. Adams (1964a) and Mendez (1967) are also somewhat unusual in that they have studied Ladino communities.

points out, Guatemalan "Indian communities" can be considered homogeneous only if the Ladinos are defined as irrelevant, which they are not. As pointed out above, there is no "integral unity" within a Guatemalan community, but rather interpersonal conflict and hostility not only between Indians and Ladinos but among Indians themselves (cf. Chapter Three, p. 35). There is nothing intrinsically cooperative about these peasants. Adams (1962) notes that individualistic activity is generally preferred to communal activity in peasant communities; for example, land apparently held communally is never worked communally but, instead, is allotted to a particular family or number of families who, although they may not sell it, regard it as private property. Neither are peasants "fettered by custom", however. Tax (1956) and Nash (1964), for example, are quick to point out that Indians will accept those changes which they find to be of direct advantage to them. The successes of the Acción Católica and favorable reaction to political change in many communities, or the adoption of Ladino dress by Indians seeking jobs in the tourist industry of Panajachel, are examples of this willingness to make potentially beneficial changes. Thus, the obstacle to local development is not "tradition", but restriction of resources, a restriction which was imposed by the Conquerors and fostered by their descendants.

As demonstrated above, the community structure introduced by the Spanish has served as a major means of maintaining these restrictions (vide Chapter Four). Thus, Adams (1962:426) is correct in suggesting that the community structure may be an obstacle to development rather than a "battery of stored energy", and that the community may have to be eliminated for development to take place. This sentiment is

echoed in Halpern and Brode's (1967:51) contention that the intellectual lavishes more affection on the land than the peasant does, that while the peasant is bound to his land, he often hates the ties that bind, particularly when an alternative exists that is at all attractive. Anthropologists, in particular, may be at fault for lavishing too much affection on the social structure which has characterized Guatemalan highland communities for four centuries, to the neglect of its oppressive aspects.* There are a few exceptions. Kaplan (1965) points out that the weekly markets are a make-work device, since other sectors of the economy cannot absorb the unemployed; the result is under-employment. Richard Appelbaum (1967:77) speaks of the Indians' "subjection" to the political-religious hierarchy. Marvin Harris (1964: 29-30) is particularly forceful:

All observers of highland Indian life agree that an extraordinary degree of local ethnocentrism characterizes these communities. This quaint, introverted focus, expressed in endogamy, distinctive patterns of dress, speech and other customs so dear to the hearts of certain anthropologists, has another side to it. Was this not exactly what was needed in order to stave off for the longest possible time the ultimate hour of reckoning that comes to every political system which mercilessly degrades and exploits its human resources?

Harris (1964:30) continues,

Again, it is no accident that the Indian

*Adherents of indigenismo are a particularly extreme example. Indigenists seek to preserve "Indianness", especially the "Indian community", against encroachment and disappearance. In so doing they are, in fact, bolstering a creature of conquest and exploitation which has only very secondarily provided the conquered some solace. See Salz (1944) for a discussion of this Indianist policy.

leader who emerges from the fiesta system is typically one who has no authority beyond his own locality. The highlands had passed beyond the village level of sociocultural organization at least a thousand years before the Europeans arrived. What else then is the closed-corporate-peasant community, if not an artifact created by the invaders to make certain that the state level of organization would never again fall under Indian control?

This artifact has to some extent been decaying under pressure from economic, political and religious forces originating outside the community (cf. Chapter Four). But an end to the closed-corporate-peasant community will not necessarily mean an end to exploitation and the beginning of development. No land is available for the expansion of peasant agriculture, and other economic alternatives are decreasing rather than increasing (cf. Chapter Two, p. 17). Consequently, although the politico-religious hierarchy and its economic restrictions may be in decline, "The Guatemalan peasant ... has not yet been able to substitute gainful work for the time previously given to the discharge of his community administrative and religious obligations" (Hill and Gollas, 1968:69).

Radical change appears to be necessary, and such change is unlikely to come from within the Indian sector of the community. Indians lack the material resources, the education, and hence the awareness and leadership necessary to bring about change. As Halpern and Brode (1967:58ff.) point out, peasants, when mobilized, could be a powerful political force, but they are too localized and individualized for effective political action. Leadership must come from the outside, and, as Nash (1957b) points out, probably from the Ladino population.

Again this leadership is unlikely to arise at the local level. Ladinos tend to be as staunch defenders of the local status quo as Indians. Adams (1957), for example, notes that Ladinos felt threatened by Indians' accession to power in Chinautla and San Miguel Acatán during the Revolutionary Decade. Silvert (1954) reports that in Alta Verapaz Ladinos oppose education for Indians, yet blame them for the region's backwardness. In the Ixil region, Colby and Vanden Berghe report that although most Ladinos approve of ladinoization and "improvement" by local Indians, paternalism is the most common form of treatment of Indians by Ladinos, both as an ideology and in practice. This paternalism gives way to a more egalitarian or competitive and hostile attitude among Ladino workers. But in general,

The Ixil are treated as backward and irresponsible grown-up children whom one has a duty to uplift and help within limits, provided, of course, that the Indians show the proper gratitude, dependence, and subservience. (Colby and Vanden Berghe, 1969:147)

Most writers concerned with the necessity for change in rural Guatemala look beyond the community to the national government, only to find it inadequate for the task. Sandoval and Cruz (1968) find that the programs of reform initiated by the governments which have followed the counterrevolution of 1954 have worsened the unequal distribution of land. Adams (1970) reaches the same conclusion. Schmid (1967) finds the Guatemalan government unable or unwilling to coerce finca owners into improving living and working conditions for their employees. Ewald (1967) reviews programs of directed change in Mexico and Guatemala and finds them unsuccessful, hampered by lack of funds and trained personnel. But most importantly, they are hampered by nation-wide

underdevelopment:

... a program aimed at substantially transforming the culture of a community could scarcely gain headway if that community remained impoverished and isolated.... An impoverished community cannot hope to raise itself by its own bootstraps. Economic development of any community is related to the economic condition of the nation. A developed national industry is a major source of government wealth. Without financial stability a government is hampered in building roads and schools, in training teachers, or in promoting public health measures and community development programs. (Ewald, 1967:508-509)

Ewald (1967:509) continues, "a flourishing national economy is, then, a precondition to a successful program of social integration", and concludes,

The causes of poverty do not lie solely within the community. An Indian community cannot flourish in geographic isolation from other communities or from the nation at large; it cannot flourish surrounded by other impoverished communities, amid conditions of poor communications, underdeveloped marketing, or general regional and national poverty.

Like most anthropologists, Ewald stops here, offering no analysis of why the national economy is underdeveloped or in what ways it can be changed. Of those who do offer such analyses, none deals with the underdeveloped nation as it is integrated into the world-wide capitalist system, as underdeveloped satellite to a developed metropolis, in Frank's terms (cf. Chapter Three, pp. 44-47). The effects of this relationship are particularly evident in the case of Guatemala, and, in such instances as the U.S.-sponsored counterrevolution of 1954, too gross to be ignored. Intense anti-Communist sentiments

were evident in this action, but protection of American economic interests was a primary motive. The extensive tracts of unused land held by the United Fruit Company were being threatened with expropriation, as part of the comprehensive land reform program initiated in 1952 by the Arbenz government. This program has been termed "a remarkably mild and fairly sound piece of legislation" aimed at remedying a land tenure and farm labor situation which is "among the least satisfactory in Latin America" (Carroll, 1961:179, 178). But, as Franklin Parker (1964:103, 105) points out,

Foreign business firms seemed to see little difference between Communist and non-Communist labour leaders and fought them both with equal vigour. The United States government expressed concern about United Fruit interests and the Communist 'menace' but not about Guatemala's Indians or her half-starved laborers.... Seemingly little attention was paid elsewhere in the world to the fact that the reforming element in Guatemalan society (would lose) and not only the Communists.*

Guatemala's once-weakened metropolis-satellite tie has once again become thoroughly reinforced. Writing in 1969, Bauer Paiz points out that "the nation's economic dependence on the United States is greater than at any other time during the last twenty-five years" (1970:153). The national government has contracted huge debts. Guatemala's electrification program has been placed in the hands of foreign interests. The United Fruit Company was allowed to back out of its many obligations, including a promise to complete port facilities on

*A substantial portion of the United Fruit Company's holdings in Guatemala have since changed hands, due to anti-trust legislation originating in the United States in 1966.

the Pacific coast, and leave the country without any compensation to the government. The government is financing the expansion of port facilities at Matías de Galvez for the use of the mining trust of EXMIBAL, a subsidiary of International Nickel, to facilitate the export of its product.* And each year foreign military aid and the amount of the budget allotted to the Ministries of Defence and the Interior (which handles "internal security") rise. Bauer Paiz lists many other examples, noting that in total by May, 1969, the Mendez Montenegro government (elected in 1966) had unnecessarily increased the foreign public debt by \$84,712,000 in direct loans to the central government alone. "Many of these programs," notes Bauer Paiz (1970:159), "could have been financed with resources of national origin." Instead, the government appears to have followed the course mapped out by the advisers of international organizations and the technicians of North American aid agencies: to finance public works with foreign funds

*Nickel production is unlikely to commence for some time, however. Fortune magazine (March, 1970:138) summarized some of the delays:

There is a feeling among experts in the industry that some of the new projects recently announced may never come to fruition. They point out that the minimum four-year lead time between the discovery of an ore-body and the smelting of nickel allows a company time to shelve the project until market conditions are favorable. For example, INCO's Guatemalan plans have been gathering dust for nearly a decade. 'I thought by the end of 1962 we would start a project and I have thought so ever since,' says Wingate (INCO's chairman). But although he now considers it more imminent than ever, Guatemalan production is omitted from INCO's estimates of new capacity.

(Bauer Paiz, 1970:158-159).

The Guatemalan national government has been rendered impotent by its dependence on foreign economic interests. As much is implied in Adams' thesis that Guatemala has been "crucified by power". Other anthropologists also testify to this impotence by looking not to governments currently in power but to an "emerging middle class" or "middle mass" as the group most likely to bring economic progress to nations like Guatemala (e.g., Nash, 1957b; Skinner-Klee, 1965). Their claim is unsubstantiated, however. This group is neither defined by membership, nor has it demonstrated that the interests of its members are allied to those of the peasants and workers rather than to their own upward mobility within the existing system.

Frank (1969b) laments the failure of such attempts to deal with social change in underdeveloped nations. He attributes these failures to social scientists' acceptance of the existing social structure as a given which is to be neither explained nor accounted for (Frank, 1969b:97). As a corollary of this lack of questioning the status quo, it is assumed that the social structure of the developed nations accounts for their prosperity. It is also assumed that if this structure were somehow transplanted in the underdeveloped nations, they too would become developed. As Frank (1969a:4) phrases it,

... the development of these underdeveloped countries, and within them of their most underdeveloped domestic areas, must and will be generated or stimulated by diffusing capital, institutions, values, etc. to them from the international and national capitalist metropolis.

Such an approach is ahistorical, as Frank (1969a:4) demonstrates:

It is generally held that economic

development occurs in a succession of capitalist stages and that today's underdeveloped countries are still in a stage, sometimes depicted as an original stage, of history through which the now developed countries passed long ago. Yet even a modest acquaintance with history shows that underdevelopment is not original or traditional and that neither the past nor the present of the underdeveloped countries resembles in any important respect the past of the now developed countries. The now developed countries were never under-developed, though they may have been undeveloped. It is also widely believed that the contemporary underdevelopment of a country can be understood as the product or reflection solely of its own economic, political, social, and cultural characteristics or structure. Yet historical research demonstrates that contemporary underdevelopment is in large part the historical product of past and continuing economic and other relations between the satellite underdeveloped and the now developed metropolitan countries.

Class analysis of the type briefly mentioned in Chapter Three appears to be capable of this historical approach. Not only can class analysis generate a clearer picture of the synchronic social structure at all its various levels, but it yields a diachronic or developmental picture as well (cf. Chapter Three, pp. 50-51). As mentioned above, an essential part of class analysis is analysis of the mode of production. The latter is located in its historical context, and the forces which have led to the emergence of that particular mode in a certain country at a particular point in time can be traced and related to existing social class structure. In the case of Guatemala, the origins and development of underdevelopment must be traced back to Guatemala's incorporation into the mercantile capitalist system of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, during which time Guatemala was a satellite

to the Spanish metropolis; then to the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century industrial capitalist stage, during which Britain came to serve as the metropole; and finally into the age of monopoly capitalism, with a consequent shift to Germany and eventually to the United States as the metropolitan power (vide Stein and Stein, 1970, for a treatment of Latin American development from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries).

The Culturalistic Perspective

Most anthropologists deal with social change in Guatemala not in terms of socioeconomic class but in terms of the ethnic distinction. The term they most frequently use in discussing social change is "ladinoization", by which they mean the adoption of Ladino cultural elements by Indians. But, as Stavenhagen (1965:13) points out, the term encompasses processes of change which are highly varied in content, ranging from change in dress or use of an object, to a change in occupation, up to a complete change of an Indians' life and world view. It has been argued above that the terms "Indian" and "Ladino" cannot be defined by such objective criteria as dress or occupation, that the definition is rather a matter of what an individual Guatemalan perceives his identity to be and how he is identified by his fellow community-members (cf. Chapter Three, pp. 52-53). From this perspective, "ladinoization" consists not merely of a change in some aspects of behavior, but of a complete change of identity. This process must obviously entail some change in external behavior. But the obverse no longer holds: mere change in dress or speech or occupation or political actions cannot and should not be termed "ladinoization". Indeed, these changes may have important structural implications which will become

obscured if they are treated under the catchall of "ladinoization". For example, a change in dress or speech will be important in terms of social structure if such alterations are required for obtaining more desirable jobs, as is the case for the Panajacheleños (Hinshaw, 1968). A change in occupation, such as a shift from working full-time in peasant agriculture to working part-time as a wage-laborer, is structurally very important, since it involves a change of relationship to the means of production. Such a change is more meaningfully termed "proletarianization" than "ladinoization".* Likewise, if an Indian peasant comes to realize that his poverty is due not to "fate", nor to his own inferiority, nor to Ladinos per se, but rather to the system which afflicts Indians and Ladinos alike, this change of attitude cannot be considered "ladinoization" in any sense of the term since such an awareness is by no means a Ladino "trait". The phenomenon would be more correctly termed growth of class consciousness.

Anthropologists need not abandon the categories "Indian" and "Ladino" altogether. Indeed, they should not, since these categories are of such significance to the majority of Guatemalans as the framework in which they find their self-identification. More importantly, the external identification and perpetuation of a large sector of the

*Increasing numbers of peasants face not proletarianization but lumpenproletarianization. The role of Guatemala's economy in the world capitalist system is that of a satellite, dependent on a few crops for which the demand is decreasing and the price falling. Under such conditions, production of these crops is unlikely to increase. And since few alternative sources of national income are available, the growing numbers of peasants being forced off the land are increasingly faced with unemployment and displacement. Many of these end up in the city, where they more often than not must resort to the occupations characteristic of the lumpenproletariat, e.g., begging, prostitution and thievery, in order to exist.

population as "Indian" has served an essential function in the wider society. It has ensured the existence of the large, self-maintaining, and expanding pool of reserve labor so necessary to the production of the export crops basic to the national economy. But at the same time, it is essential to realize that these traditional anthropological categories are not adequate for handling social changes of the nature and magnitude described above.

It appears that radical change is required in the anthropological approach to the study of Guatemalan society. Anthropologists need not confine their investigations to the Indian sector of the population, as Adams (1970) has demonstrated. But to the extent that anthropologists do continue to focus on the Indian, they should be aware of two things. First, they need to recognize that at a basic structural level the Indian is fully incorporated into the national and global social systems. This integration has important implications for all aspects of anthropological investigation-- construction of approaches and models, community studies, and studies of sociocultural change. These implications, however, cannot be grasped merely by acknowledging the fact of integration. For this task the anthropologist's traditional cultural category of "Indian" appears to be necessary but not sufficient. In terms of models, distinctions based on ethnic identity or access to power, for example, are a necessary part of any portrayal of the Indian's position in Guatemalan society, but they are also insufficient in that the ultimate basis and interrelatedness of the distinctions are not explained. In terms of community studies, a description of the highland community as a protective and adaptive device of the conquered is necessary but also insufficient, because the

community structure has served also as the instrument of the conqueror. As for social change, a description of ladinization is necessary but again not sufficient, because no qualitative differences are recognized between the various types of changes the term encompasses, and because the underlying dynamic factors are not determined. This thesis has examined many approaches to Guatemalan society for their utility in dealing comprehensively with the nature of the Indian's integration into the national and international social systems. Of these, only class analysis seems to offer the possibility of doing justice to the complexity of the position of the Indian in Guatemalan society. For this reason, it merits rigorous testing and serious study, rather than dismissal.

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